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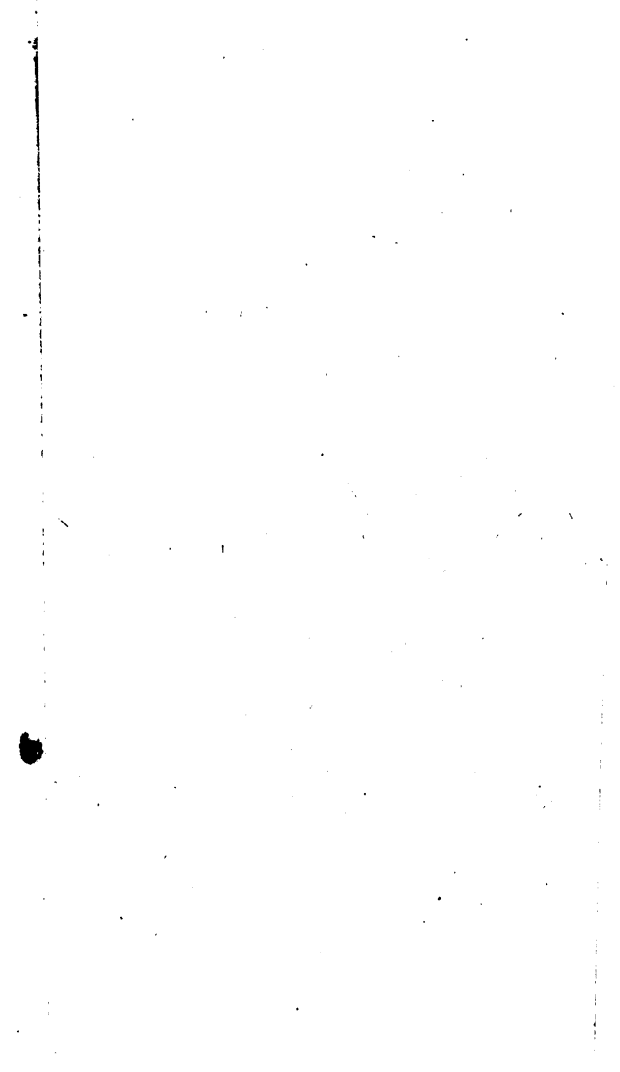


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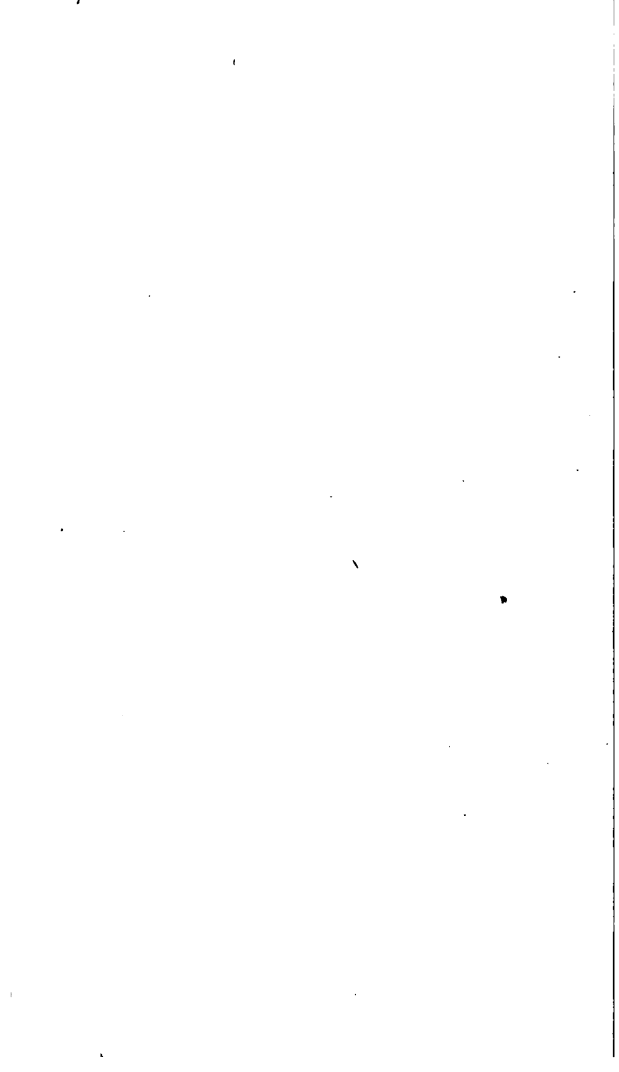


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REVOLUTIONS IN EUROPE VOL. II.



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HISTORY
OF THE
REVOLUTIONS IN EUROPE,
FROM THE SUBVERSION
OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE
IN THE WEST,
TILL
THE ABDICATION OF BONAPARTE.

FROM THE FRENCH OF C. W. KOCH.

BY ANDREW CRICHTON.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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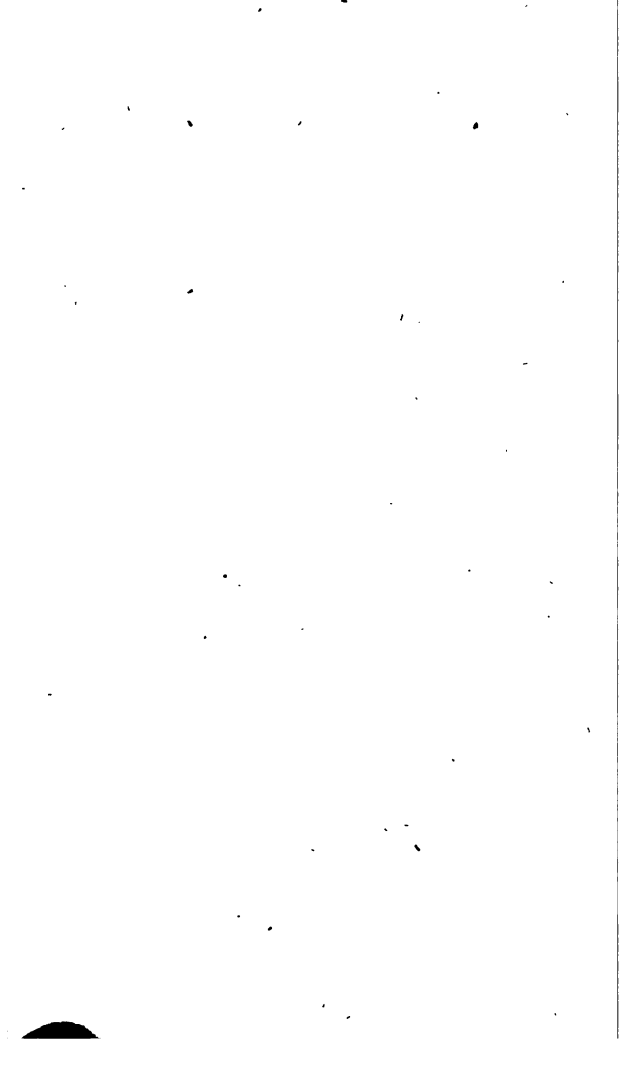
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REVOLUTIONS OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER VII.

PERIOD VI.

FROM THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY
THE TURKS, TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

A. D. 1453.—1648.

THE revolution which happened in the fifteenth century entirely changed the face of Europe, and introduced a new system of politics. This revolution was not achieved by any combinations of profound policy, nor by the operation of that physical force which generally subverts thrones and governments. It was the result of those progressive changes which had been produced in the ideas and understandings of the nations of Europe, by the improvements and institutions of preceding times; as well as by the invention of paper and printing, of gunpowder, and the mariner's compass. By means of these, the empire of letters and arts was greatly extended,

and various salutary improvements made in the religion, manners, and governments of Europe. The people by degrees shook off the yoke of barbarism, superstition, and fanaticism, which the revolution of the fifth century had imposed on them ; and from that time the principal States of Europe began to acquire the strength, and gradually to assume the form, which they have since maintained.

Several extraordinary events, however, conspired to accelerate these happy changes. The Belles Lettres and the Fine Arts broke out with new splendour, after the downfall of the Greek Empire. The celebrated Petrarch, and his disciples Boccaccio and John of Ravenna, were the first that brought the Italians acquainted with ancient literature, as the true source and standard of good taste. They prepared the way for a vast number of the Grecian literati, who, to escape the barbarity of the Turks, had fled into Italy, where they opened schools, and brought the study of Greek literature into considerable repute. The most celebrated of these Greek refugees were, Manuel Chrysoloras, Cardinal Bessarion, Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, John Argyrophilus, and Demetrius Chalcondyles. Protected by the family of the Medicis at Florence, they assisted in forming those fine geniuses which arose in Italy during the fifteenth century, such as Leonardo Aretino, the two Guarini, Poggio of Florence, Angelo Politian, and many others. Academies, or Free Societies, were founded at Rome, Naples, Venice, Milan, Ferrara and Florence, for the encouragement of ancient literature.

From Italy the study of the ancient arts passed to the other states of Europe. They soon

diffused their influence over every department of literature and science, which by degrees assumed an aspect totally new. The scholastic system, which till then had been in vogue in the pulpits and universities, lost its credit, and gave place to a more refined philosophy. Men learned to discriminate the vices of the feudal system, and sought out the means of correcting them. The sources of disorder and anarchy were gradually dried up, and gave place to better organized governments. Painting, sculpture, and the arts in general, cleared from the Gothic rust which they had contracted during the barbarous ages, and finished after the models of the ancients, shone forth with renewed lustre. Navigation, under the direction of the compass, reached a degree of perfection which attracted universal attention; and while the ancients merely coasted along their own shores in the pursuit of commerce or maritime exploits, we find the modern Europeans extending their navigation over the whole globe, and bringing both hemispheres under their dominion.

America, unknown to the ancients, was discovered during this period; as well as the route to India and the East, round the Continent of Africa. The notion of a fourth quarter of the world had long been prevalent among the ancients. We all recollect the Atlantides of Plato, which, according to the assertion of that philosopher, was larger than Asia and Africa; and we know that *Ælian* the historian, who lived in the reign of *Adrian*, affirmed in like manner the existence of a fourth continent of immense extent. This opinion had got so much into fashion, during the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era, that *Lactantius*

and St Augustine thought themselves bound in duty to combat it in their writings; inveighing against the antipodes by reasons and arguments, the frivolousness of which is now very generally admitted; but, whatever were the notions which the ancients might have entertained as to a fourth quarter of the globe, it is very certain that they knew it only from conjecture, and that their navigation never extended so far.

The honour of this important discovery belongs to modern navigators, more especially to Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa. From the knowledge which this celebrated man had acquired in the sciences of Navigation, Astronomy, and Geography, he was persuaded that there must be another hemisphere lying to the westward, and unknown to Europeans, but necessary to the equilibrium of the globe. These conjectures he communicated to several of the courts of Europe, who all regarded him as a visionary; and it was not till after many solicitations, that Isabella, Queen of Castile, granted him three vessels, with which he set sail in quest of the new continent, 3d August 1492. After a perilous navigation of some months, he reached the Island Guanahani or Cat Island, one of the Lucayos or Bahamas, to which he gave the name of St Salvador. This discovery was followed soon after by that of the Islands of St Domingo and Cuba; and in the second and third voyages which that navigator undertook to America (1493-1498), he discovered the mainland or continent of the New World; especially the coast of Paria, as far as the point of Araya, making part of the province known at present by the name of Cumana.

The tract of the Genoese navigator was followed by a Florentine merchant, named Amerigo Vesputio. Under the conduct of a Spanish captain, called Alfonso de Ojeda, he made several voyages to the New World after the year 1497. Different coasts of the continent of South America were visited by him ; and in the maps of his discoveries which he drew up, he usurped a glory which did not belong to him, by applying his own name to the new continent ; which it has since retained.

The Spaniards conquered the islands and a great part of the continent of America ; extending their victories along with their discoveries. Stimulated by the thirst of gold, which the New World offered to them in abundance, they committed crimes and barbarities which make humanity shudder. Millions of the unfortunate natives were either massacred or buried in the sea, in spite of the efforts which the Spanish Bishop, Berthelemi de Las Casas, vainly made to arrest the fury of his countrymen.¹ In the year after the first discovery of Columbus, Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Spain, obtained a bull from Pope Alexander VI., by which that Pontiff made him a gift of all the countries discovered, or to be discovered, towards the west and the south ; drawing an imaginary line from one pole to the other, at the distance of a hundred leagues westward of Cape Verd and the Azores. This decision having given offence to the King of Portugal, who deemed it prejudicial to his discoveries in the East, an accommodation was contrived between the two courts, in virtue of which the same Pope, by another Bull (1424), removed the line in question farther west, to the

distance of four hundred and seventy leagues ; so that all the countries lying to the westward of this line should belong to the King of Spain, while those which might be discovered to the eastward, should fall to the possession of the King of Portugal. ² It was on this pretended title that the Spaniards founded their right to demand the submission of the American nations to the Spanish Crown. Their principal conquests in the New World commence from the reign of the Emperor Charles V. It was in his name that Ferdinand Cortes, with a mere handful of troops, overthrew the vast Empire of Mexico (1521); the last Emperors of which, Montezuma and Gatimozin, were slain, and a prodigious number of the Mexicans put to the sword. The conqueror of Peru was Francis Pizarro (1533). He entered the country, at the head of 300 men, at the very time when Atabalipa was commencing his reign as Incas, or Sovereign of Peru. That prince was slain, and the whole of Peru subdued by the Spaniards.

[The Spaniards founded various colonies and establishments in that part of America which they had subjected to their dominion. The character of these colonies differed from that of the establishments which the Portuguese had founded in India, and the Dutch, the English, and the French, in different parts of the world. As the Spaniards were by no means a commercial nation, the precious metals alone were the object of their cupidity. They applied themselves, in consequence, to the working of mines ; they imported negroes to labour in them, and made slaves of the natives. In process of time, when the number of Europeans had increased in these countries, and the precious metals be-

came less abundant, the Spanish colonists were obliged to employ themselves in agriculture, and in raising what is commonly called colonial produce. What we have now said, accounts for the limitations and restrictions which were imposed on the trade of these colonies by the Spanish government; they wished to reserve to themselves exclusively the profits of the mines. Commerce, which at first had been confined to the single entrepôt of Seville, fell into the hands of a small number of merchants, to the entire exclusion of foreigners. As for the Spanish possessions in America, they were planted with Episcopal and Metropolitan Sees, Missions, Convents, and Universities. The Inquisition was also introduced; but the hierarchy which was founded there, instead of augmenting the power of the Popes, remained in a state of complete dependence upon the Sovereigns.]

The discovery of Brazil belongs to the Portuguese. Alvares Cabral, the commander of their fleet, while on his route to India, was driven, by contrary winds, on the coast of Brazil (1500), and took possession of the country in name of the King of Portugal. This colony, in the course of time, became highly important, from the rich mines of diamonds and gold which were discovered there.

The Spaniards and Portuguese were at first the only masters of America; but in a short time, establishments were formed there by some of the other maritime nations of Europe. The first English colony was that of Virginia, which was conducted to North America by Sir Walter Raleigh (1584), but it did not gain a permanent settlement till the reign of James I. This was afterwards followed by several other colonies which

had settled in that part of the American continent, on account of the persecution carried on by the Stuart Kings against the nonconformists. The first settlements of the English in the Antilles, were those which they formed in the Islands of Barbadoes and St Christopher (1629); to these they added the Island of Jamaica, which they took from the Spaniards (1655). The date of the French establishments in Canada, is as old as the reigns of Francis I. and Henry IV., in the years 1534 and 1604. The city of Quebec was founded in 1608. It was at a later period when the French established themselves in the Antilles. The origin of their colonies in Martinique and Guadaloupe, is generally referred to the year 1635. They gained a footing in St Domingo as early as 1630, but the flourishing state of that remarkable colony did not begin, properly speaking, till 1722. All the establishments which the English and French had formed in America, were purely agricultural; and in this respect they were distinguished from the Spanish colonies.

The discovery of a passage by sea to the East Indies round Africa, belongs also to the Portuguese. It forms one of those great events which often take their first impulse from very slender causes. John I. surnamed the Bastard, the new founder of the kingdom of Portugal, being desirous of affording to his sons an opportunity of signaling themselves, and earning the honour of knighthood, planned an expedition against the Moors in Africa; he equipped a fleet, with which he landed in the neighbourhood of Ceuta (1415), of which he soon made himself master, and created his sons knights in the grand mosque of that city. After

this event, the Portuguese began to have a taste for navigation and maritime discoveries. In this they were encouraged by the Infant Don Henry, Duke of Viseu, and one of the sons of King John, who had particularly distinguished himself in the expedition of which we have just spoken. That prince, who was well skilled in mathematics and the art of navigation, established his residence at Cape St Vincent, on the western extremity of Algarva. There he ordered vessels to be constructed at his own expense, and sent them to reconnoitre the coasts of Africa. From that time the Portuguese discovered, in succession, the Islands of Madeira (1420), the Canaries (1424), the Azores (1431), and Cape Verd (1460). There they founded colonies; and, advancing by degrees along the southern shores of Africa, they extended their navigation as far as the coasts of Guinea and Nigritia. The islands which they had newly discovered, were confirmed to the Kings of Portugal by several of the Popes. The Canaries, however, having been claimed by the Spaniards, a treaty was negotiated between the two kingdoms, in virtue of which these islands were abandoned to Spain (1481).

It was under the reign of John II. that the Portuguese extended their navigation as far as the most southerly point of Africa. Barthelemi Diaz, their admiral, was the first who doubled the Cape, which he called the Stormy Cape; a name which King John changed into that of Good Hope. At length, after twelve years of toils, Vasco di Gama, another Portuguese admiral, had the glory of carrying his national flag as far as India. He landed at the Port of Calicut (1498), on the Malabar

coast, in the third year of the reign of Emmanuel. Several other celebrated Portuguese navigators, such as Almeida, Albuquerque, Acunga, Silveira, and de Castro, following the tract of Vasco di Gama, laid the foundation of the power of the Portuguese in India. Francis Almeida defeated the fleet of the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, in conjunction with that of the Kings of India (1509). Alfonzo Albuquerque conquered Goa (1511), and made it the capital of all the Portuguese settlements in that part of the world. About the same time, the Portuguese established themselves in the Molucca Islands, with some opposition on the part of the Spaniards. Anthony Silveira signalized himself by his able defence of Diu (1588). He repulsed the Turks, and ruined the fleet which Soliman the Great had sent to the siege of that place (1547). The King of Cambay having resumed the siege, he experienced likewise a total defeat from John de Castro, who then conquered the whole kingdom of Diu.

The Portuguese found powerful kingdoms in India, and nations rich and civilized. There, nature and the industry of the natives, produced or fabricated those articles of commerce and merchandise which have since become an object of luxury to Europeans; at least until the activity of the Venetians had furnished the inhabitants of this part of the world with them in such abundance, as to make them be regarded as articles of absolute necessity. This circumstance was the reason why the Portuguese never formed any other than mercantile establishments in India, which they erected on the coasts, without extending them into the interior. The working of the mines, and the cares

of agriculture, were abandoned entirely to the natives.

This era produced a total change in the commerce of the East. Formerly the Venetians were the people that carried on the principal traffic to India. The Jewish or Mahometan merchants purchased at Goa, Calicut, and Cochin, those spices and other productions of the East, which they imported into Syria by the Persian Gulf, and into Egypt by the Red Sea. They were then conveyed by a laborious and expensive land-carriage, either to the port of Alexandria, or that of Bairout in Syria. Thither the Venetians repaired in quest of the luxuries of India; they fixed their price, and distributed them over all Europe. This commerce proved a source of vast wealth to these republicans; it furnished them with the means of maintaining a formidable marine, and of very often dictating the law to the other European powers; but after the discovery of the new passage round the Cape, and the conquests of the Portuguese in India, the Venetians saw themselves compelled to abandon a traffic in which they could not compete with the Portuguese. This was a terrible blow to that republic, and the principal cause of its downfall. The Portuguese, however, did not profit by this exclusive commerce as they might have done. They did not, like other nations, constitute Companies, with exclusive commercial privileges; they carried it on by means of fleets, which the government regularly despatched at fixed periods. In this manner, the commodities of the East were imported to Lisbon; but the indolence of the native merchants left to other nations the care of distributing them through the markets of Europe.

The Dutch were the people that profited most by this branch of industry ; they cultivated it with so much success, and under such favourable circumstances, that they at length succeeded in excluding the Portuguese themselves from this lucrative traffic, by dispossessing them of their colonies in the East.

- If the events which we have now briefly detailed proved fatal to the Venetians, and afflicting to humanity, by the wars and misfortunes which they occasioned, it is nevertheless certain, that commerce and navigation gained prodigiously by these new discoveries. The Portuguese, after having maintained for some time the exclusive possession of the navigation and trade of the East, found afterwards powerful competitors in the Spaniards, the Dutch, English, French, and Danes, who all established mercantile connexions both in India and America. ³ Hence innumerable sources of wealth were opened up to the industry of the Europeans ; and their commerce, formerly limited to the Mediterranean, the Baltic, and the Northern Seas, and confined to a few cities in Italy, Flanders, and Germany, was now, by means of their colonies in Africa, and the East and West Indies, extended to all parts of the globe. ⁴ The intercourse of the Portuguese with China was as early as the year 1517, and with Japan it began in 1542. Ferdinand Magellan undertook the first voyage round the world (1519), and his example found afterwards a number of imitators. ⁵ By degrees the maritime power of Europe assumed a formidable aspect ; arts and manufactures were multiplied ; and states, formerly poor, became rich and flourishing. Kingdoms at length found in

their commerce, resources for augmenting their strength and their influence, and carrying into execution their projects of aggrandisement and conquest.

[Among the causes of this revolution which took place in commerce, it is necessary to take into account a discovery apparently of trivial importance, but which exercised a most extraordinary influence over the civilization of Europe, viz. that of horse-posts for the conveyance of letters. Before the sixteenth century, the communications between distant countries were few and difficult. Messengers, travelling on short journeys, on foot or on horseback, were their only couriers. About the beginning of the seventeenth century, and during the reign of Maximilian I., an Italian gentleman of the name of Francis de la Tour et Taxis, established the first posts in the Low Countries. Their object at first was merely for the conveyance of letters, for which he provided regular relays. By and by, for the sake of despatch, the use of horses was introduced, placed at certain distances. From the Low Countries this system found its way into Germany, where it was conferred on the family of Taxis as a regalian right; and from thence it spread over every civilized country in the world.]

A revolution not less important, is that which took place in religion about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The abuses which disgraced the court of Rome, the excess of the power, and the depravity of the morals of the clergy, had excited a very general discontent. A reformation had for a long time been deemed necessary, but

there was a difference of opinion as to the method of effecting it. The common notion was, that this task could be legally accomplished only by General Councils, convoked under the authority of the Popes. It was easy, however, to perceive the inefficacy of any remedy left at the disposal of those very persons from whom the evil proceeded; and the unsuccessful results of the Councils of Constance and Basle, had taught the people, that, in order to obtain redress for the abuses of which they complained, it was necessary to have recourse to some other scheme than that of General Councils. This scheme was attempted by the Reformers of the sixteenth century, who were persuaded, that, in order to restrain the exorbitant power of the clergy, they ought to reject the infallibility of the Pope, as well as that of General Councils; admitting no other authority in ecclesiastical matters, than that of the sacred scriptures, interpreted by the lights of reason and sound criticism.

The immediate and incidental cause of this change in religion, was the enormous abuse of indulgences. Pope Leo X., who was of the family of the Medicis, and well known for his extensive patronage of literature and the fine arts, having exhausted the treasury of the church by his luxury and his munificence, had recourse to the expedient of indulgences, which several of his predecessors had already adopted as a means of recruiting their finances. The ostensible reason was, the basilicon of St Peter's at Rome, the completion of which was equally interesting to the whole of Christendom. Offices for the sale of indulgences were established in all the different states of Europe. The pur-

chasers of these indulgences obtained absolution of their sins, and exemption from the pains of purgatory after death. The excesses committed by the emissaries who had the charge of these indulgences, and the scandalous means which they practised to extort money, brought on the schism to which we are about to advert.

Two theologians, Martin Luther, and Ulric Zuingle, opposed these indulgences, and inveighed against them in their sermons and their writings; the former at Wittemberg in Saxony; the other, first at Einsiedeln, and afterwards at Zurich, in Switzerland. Leo X. at first held these adversaries in contempt. He did not attempt to allay the storm, until the minds of men, exasperated by the heat of dispute, were no longer disposed to listen to the voice of calmness and conciliation. The means which he subsequently tried to induce Luther to retract having proved abortive, he launched a thundering Bull against him (1520), which, so far from abating the courage of the Reformer, tended, on the contrary, to embolden him still more. He publicly burnt the Pope's Bull, together with the Canon Law, at Wittemberg (10. December), in presence of a vast concourse of doctors and students from different nations, whom he had assembled for the purpose. From that moment Luther and Zuingle never ceased to preach against the abuses of the indulgences. They completely undermined this system of abomination, and even attacked various other dogmas and institutions of the Romish church, such as monastic vows, the celibacy of the priests, the supremacy of the Pope and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. These two celebrated men, who agreed in the greater part of their

opinions, soon attracted a number of followers. The people, long ago prepared to shake off a yoke which had been so oppressive, applauded the zeal of the Reformers; and the new opinions, promptly and easily diffused by means of the press, were received with enthusiasm throughout a great part of Europe.

John Calvin, another Reformer, trod nearly in the footsteps of Zuingle. He was a native of Noyon in Picardy, and began to distinguish himself at Paris in 1532. Being compelled to leave that city on account of his opinions, he withdrew to Switzerland (1538); thence he passed to Strasbourg, where he was nominated to the office of French preacher. His erudition and his pulpit talents gained him disciples, and gave the name of Calvinists to those who had at first been called Zuinglians. The Lutherans, as well as the Zuinglians or Calvinists in Germany, were comprehended under the common appellation of Protestants, on account of the *Protest* which they took against the decrees of the Diet of Spire (1529), which forbade them to make any innovations in religion, or to abolish the mass, until the meeting of a General Council. The name of Lutherans was applied more particularly to those who adhered to the Confession of Augsburg, that is, the Confession of Faith which they presented to the Emperor Charles V., at the famous Diet of Augsburg, held in 1530.

In this manner a great part of Europe revolted from the Pope and the Romish Church, and embraced either the doctrines of Luther, or those of Zuingle and Calvin. The half of Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Prussia, and Livonia, ad-

opted the Confession of Augsburg; while England, Scotland, the United Provinces, and the principal part of Switzerland, declared themselves in favour of the opinions of Zuingli and Calvin. The new doctrines made likewise great progress in France, Hungary, Transylvania, Bohemia, Silesia, and Poland.

This revolution did not convulse merely the Church; it influenced the politics, and changed the form of government, in many of the States of Europe. The same men who believed themselves authorized to correct abuses and imperfections in religion, undertook to reform political abuses with the same freedom. New States sprung up; and princes took advantage of these commotions to augment their own power and authority. Constituting themselves heads of the Church and of the religion of their country, they shook off the fetters of priestly influence; while the clergy ceased to form a counteracting or controlling power in the State. The freedom of opinion which characterized the Protestant faith, awoke the human mind from its intellectual lethargy, infused new energy into it, and thus contributed to the progress of civilization and science in Europe. Even the systems of public instruction underwent a considerable change. The schools were reformed, and rendered more perfect. A multitude of new seminaries of education, academies, and universities, were founded in all the Protestant States. This revolution, however, was not accomplished without great and various calamities. A hierarchy, such as that of the Church of Rome, supported by all that was dignified and venerable, could not be attacked, or

shaken to its foundation, without involving Europe in the convulsion. Hence we find that wars and factions arose in Germany, France, the Low Countries, Switzerland, Hungary, and Poland. The march of reformation was every where stained with blood.

[This, however, was not always shed on account of religion, which was made the pretext for the greater part of the wars that raged for two hundred years. All the passions of the human breast—the ambition of the great,—and the turbulent spirits of the disaffected—assumed that mask. If the Reformation contributed ultimately to the progress of learning in the Protestant States, it arrested these improvements in the Catholic countries, and gave birth to a headlong fanaticism which shut men's eyes to the truth. Even in the Protestant States, it occupied the attention with the study of a theology full of scholastic subtleties, instead of directing the mind to the pursuit of more useful sciences. If this liberty of opinion, and the absence of all authority in matters of faith, gave new energy to human thought, it also led men into errors of which the preceding ages had seen no example. The republicanism which desolated France in the sixteenth century, the rebellions which distracted England in the seventeenth, the pestilent doctrines that were broached in the eighteenth, and the revolutionary spirit which overturned all Europe in the nineteenth, may justly be regarded as the consequences of the Reformation, whose evils have in a great measure counterbalanced its advantages.*]

The means that were employed to bring the

* This is one of the paragraphs interpolated by M. Schoell, whose opinion in this matter we by no means subscribe to. T.

quarrels of the Church to an amicable conclusion, tended rather to exasperate than allay the mischief; and if the conferences among the clergy of different persuasions failed, it was not to be expected that a better agreement, or a reunion of parties, could be founded on the basis of a General Council. The Protestants demanded an uncontrolled liberty for the Council. They wished it to be assembled by order of the Emperor, in one of the cities of the Empire; and that their divines should have a voice and a seat in its meetings. The Pope was to submit to its authority, and all matters should there be decided according to the rule of the sacred Scriptures. These terms were by no means agreeable to the Catholics. Paul III. summoned a Council at Mantua (1557), and another at Vicenza (1558); but both of these convocations were ineffectual, as was also the proposed reform in the Court of Rome, made by the same Pontiff. It was resolved at last, at the instance of the Catholic princes (1542), to convoke the Council of Trent, though the opening of it was deferred till 1545.

This famous Council met with two interruptions; the first took place in 1547, when the Pope, who had become alarmed at the success of the Imperial arms, transferred the Council to Bologna, on pretence that an epidemic distemper had broken out at Trent. All the prelates of the Emperor's party remained at Trent, in obedience to the command of their master, who protested loudly against the assembly at Bologna, which nevertheless held its ninth and tenth Sessions at that city. This latter Council having been dissolved by Paul III. (1548), its affairs continued in a languid state for the next two years, when Pope Julius III., the successor of

Paul, revived it, and transferred it once more to Trent (1551). Another interruption took place at the time when Maurice, Elector of Saxony, had made himself master of Augsburg, and was marching against the Emperor towards Inspruck. It was then agreed to prorogue the Council, now in its sixteenth Session, for two years; and to assemble again at the end of that period, if peace should happen in the mean time to be established. At length, in 1560, Pius IV., summoned the Council, for the third and last time, to meet at Trent. The session, however, did not commence till 1562; and next year its sittings were finally terminated.

In this Council, matters were not treated in the same way as they had been at Constance and Basle, where each nation deliberated separately, and then gave their suffrage in common, so that the general decision was taken according to the votes of the different nations. This form of deliberation was not at all palatable to the Court of Rome, who, in order to gain a preponderance in the assembly, thought proper to decide, by a majority of the votes of every individual member of the Council. The Protestant princes rejected entirely the authority of this Council; which, far from terminating the dispute, made the schism wider than ever. Its decisions were even condemned by several of the Catholic sovereigns. In France, more especially, it was never formally published, and they expressly excluded such of its acts of discipline as they considered contrary to the laws of the kingdom, to the authority of the sovereign, and the maxims of the Gallican Church.

It is nevertheless certain that this Council was instrumental in restoring the tottering power of

the Roman pontiffs; which received at the same time a new support by the institution of the Order of the Jesuits. The founder of this order was Ignatius Loyola, who was born at the Castle of Loyola in Guipuscoa. He made the declaration of his vows in the church of Montmartre at Paris (1534), and obtained from Paul III. the confirmation of his new Society. This order was bound, by a particular vow of obedience, more intimately to the Court of Rome; and became one of the main instruments of its enormous power. From Spain the Society was speedily propagated in all the other Catholic States; they filled cities and courts with their emissaries; undertook missions to China, Japan, and the Indies; and under the special protection of the See of Rome, they soon surpassed in credit and wealth every other religious order.

In the midst of these changes which took place in civil and ecclesiastical matters, we find a new system arising in the political government of Europe; the consequence of those new ties and relations which had been established amongst the different powers since the close of the fifteenth century. Prior to this date, most of the European States were feeble, because insulated and detached. Occupied with their own particular interests and quarrels, the nations were little acquainted with each other, and seldom had any influence on their mutual destinies. The faults and imperfections inherent in the feudal system had pervaded all Europe, and crippled the power and energies of government. The sovereigns, continually at war with their factious and powerful vassals, could neither form plans of foreign conquest, nor carry them into

execution ; and their military operations were in general without unity or effect. [Hence it happened, that in the middle ages, changes were produced in the different States, which so little alarmed their neighbours, that it may be said they were scarcely conscious of their existence. Such were the conquests of the English in France, which might certainly have compromised the independence of Europe.]

A combination of causes and circumstances, both physical and moral, produced a revolution in the manners and governments of most of the Continental States. The disorders of feudal anarchy gradually disappeared ; constitutions better organised were introduced ; the temporary levies of vassals were succeeded by regular and permanent armies ; which contributed to humble the exorbitant power of the nobles and feudal barons. The consequence was, that States formerly weak and exhausted, acquired strength ; while their sovereigns, freed from the turbulence and intimidation of their vassals, began to extend their political views, and to form projects of aggrandisement and conquest.

From this period the reciprocal influence of the European States on each other began to be manifest. Those who were afraid for their independence, would naturally conceive the idea of a balance of power capable of protecting them against the inroads of ambitious and warlike princes. Hence those frequent embassies and negotiations ; those treaties of alliance, subsidies, and guarantees ; those wars carried on by a general combination of powers, who deemed themselves obliged to bear a part in the common cause ; and hence too those projects for establishing checks and barriers on

each other, which occupied the different courts of Europe.

[The system of equilibrium or the balance of power, originated in Italy. That peninsula, separated from the rest of the continent by the sea and the Alps, had outstript the other countries in the career of civilization. There a multitude of independent states had been formed, unequal in point of power and extent; but none of them had sufficient strength to resist the united power of the rest, or usurp dominion over them; while at the same time, none of them were sufficiently contemptible in point of weakness, as not to be of some weight in the scale. Hence that rivalry and jealousy among them, which was incessantly watching over the progress of their neighbours; and hence, too, a series of wars and confederacies, whose object was to maintain some degree of equality among them; or at least a relative proportion, which might inspire the weaker with courage and confidence. The Popes who were exceedingly active in these transactions, employed all their policy to prevent any foreign power from interfering, or establishing itself in Italy. The doctrine of political equilibrium passed the Alps about the end of the fifteenth century. The House of Austria, which had suddenly risen to a high pitch of grandeur, was the first against which its efforts were directed.]

This House, which derived its origin from Rodolph of Hapsburg, who was elected Emperor of Germany towards the end of the thirteenth century, owed its greatness and elevation chiefly to the Imperial dignity, and the different marriage-alliances which this same dignity procur-

ed it. Maximilian of Austria, son of the Emperor Frederic III., married Mary of Burgundy (1477), daughter and heiress of Charles the Rash, last Duke of Burgundy. This alliance secured to Austria the whole of the Low Countries, including Frenche-Comté, Flanders, and Artois. Philip the Fair, the son of this marriage, espoused the Infanta of Spain, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Castille. They had two sons, Charles and Ferdinand, the former of whom, known in history by the name of Charles V., inherited the Low Countries in right of his father Philip (1506). On the death of Ferdinand, his maternal grandfather (1516), he became heir to the whole Spanish succession, which comprehended the kingdoms of Spain, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, together with Spanish America. To these vast possessions were added his patrimonial dominions in Austria, which were transmitted to him by his paternal grandfather the Emperor Maximilian I. About the same time (1519), the Imperial dignity was conferred on this prince by the electors; so that Europe had not seen, since the time of Charlemagne, a monarchy so powerful as that of Charles V.

This Emperor concluded a treaty with his brother Ferdinand, by which he ceded to him all his hereditary possessions in Germany. The two brothers thus became the founders of the two principal branches of the House of Austria, viz. that of Spain, which began with Charles V., (called Charles I. of Spain), and ended with Charles II. (1700); and that of Germany, of which Ferdinand I. was the ancestor, and which became extinct in the male line in the Emperor Charles VI. (1740). These two branches, closely allied to each

other, acted in concert for the advancement of their reciprocal interests; moreover they gained each their own separate advantages by the marriage connexions which they formed. Ferdinand I. of the German line, married Anne (1521), sister of Louis King of Hungary and Bohemia, who having been slain by the Turks at the battle of Mohacs (1526), these two kingdoms devolved to Ferdinand of the House of Austria. Finally, the marriage which Charles V. contracted with the Infant Isabella, daughter of Emmanuel, King of Portugal, procured Philip II. of Spain, the son of that marriage, the whole Portuguese monarchy, to which he succeeded on the death of Henry, called the Cardinal (1580). So vast an aggrandisement of power alarmed the sovereigns of Europe, who began to suspect that the Austrian Princes, of the Spanish and German line, aimed at universal monarchy. The unbounded ambition of Charles V., and his son Philip II., as well as that of Ferdinand II., grandson of Ferdinand I., tended to confirm these suspicions; and all felt the necessity of uniting to oppose a barrier to this overwhelming power. For a long time the whole policy of Europe, its wars and alliances, had no other object than to humble the ambition of one nation, whose preponderance seemed to threaten the liberty and independence of the rest.

[The system of political equilibrium, which from this period became the leading object of every European cabinet, until it was undermined by unjust and arbitrary interferences, and threatened to bury the independence of Europe in its ruins, did not aim at maintaining among the different

states an equality of power or territorial possession. This would have been chimerical. The object of this system was to maintain a perfect equality of rights, in virtue of which the weaker might enjoy in security all that they held by a just claim. It was purely a defensive and preservative system; nor did it affect to put an end to all wars; it was directed solely against the ambition and usurpation of conquerors. Its fundamental principle was to prevent any one state from acquiring sufficient power to resist the united efforts of the others.]

France was the leading power that undertook the task of regulating the balance against the House of Austria. Francis I. and Henry II. used every effort to excite combinations against Charles V. Francis was the first sovereign in Europe that entered into treaties of alliance with the Turks against Austria; and in this way the Porte was, to a certain extent, amalgamated with the political system of Europe. So long as their object was to subvert the feudal aristocracy, and the Protestant religion in France, Francis and Henry were strenuous defenders of the Germanic system, and extended their protection to the sovereigns of the Protestant States of the Empire, under the persuasion that all Europe would bend to the Austrian yoke, if the Emperors of that House should succeed in rendering their power absolute and hereditary in the Empire. Henry IV., Louis XIII., and the Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, adopted the same line of policy.⁶ They joined in league with the Protestant Princes, and armed by turns the greater part of Europe against Austria, and the Emperor Ferdinand II., whose ambitious de-

signs threatened to subvert the constitution of the Empire. This was the grand motive for the famous Thirty Years' War, which was put an end to by the treaties of Westphalia (1648), and of the Pyrenees (1659). France succeeded, not however without prodigious efforts, in supporting the balance against Austria ; while the federative system of the Empire, consolidated by the former of these treaties, and guaranteed by France and Sweden, became a sort of artificial barrier, for preserving the equilibrium and the general tranquillity of Europe.

It was during this period that almost every kingdom in Europe changed their condition, and assumed, by degrees, the form which they have still retained. The German Empire continued to experience those calamities to which every government is exposed, when its internal springs have lost their vigour and activity. Private wars and feuds, which the laws authorized, were then regarded as the chief bulwark of the national liberty ; the nobles and the petty states in general, knew no other justice than what the sword dispensed. Oppression, rapine and violence, were become universal ; commerce languished ; and the different provinces of the Empire presented one melancholy scene of ruin and desolation. The expedients that were tried to remedy these disorders, the truces, the treaties (called the Peace of God), and the different confederacies of the Imperial states, served only to palliate, but not to cure the evil. The efforts which some of the Emperors made to establish the public tranquillity on some solid basis, proved equally abortive. It was not until near the end of the fifteenth

century that the states of the Empire, impressed with juster notions of government and civil subordination, consented to the total and entire abolition of feuds and intestine wars. This was accomplished under the reign of Maximilian I., by the *Perpetual Public Peace*, drawn up at the Diet of Worms in 1495. All violent means of redress among the members of the Germanic Body were rigorously interdicted; and all who had any complaint to make against each other, were enjoined to apply to the regular courts of justice. This ordinance of the Public Peace, which was afterwards renewed and enlarged in several diets, has been regarded, since that time, as one of the principal and fundamental laws of the Empire.

The establishment of the Public Peace rendered a reformation necessary in the administration of justice, which had long been in a languid and disordered state. For this purpose, the Imperial Chamber, which sat at first at Spire, and was afterwards transferred to Wetzelar, was instituted at the Diet of Worms (1495). Its object was to judge of any differences that might arise among the immediate members of the Germanic body; as also to receive any appeals that might be referred to them from the subordinate tribunals. It was composed of a chief or head, called the Judge of the Chamber, and of a certain number of assessors, chosen from among the electors and independent nobility. The institution of the Aulic Council, another sovereign court of the Empire, followed soon after that of the Imperial Chamber. Its origin is generally referred to the Diet of Cologne (1512). Of the same date also is the plan which they adopted of dividing the Empire into ten

Circles, as a proper expedient for maintaining the public peace, and facilitating the execution of the sentences of the two Imperial Courts. Over each of these circles were placed conveners, directors, and colonels, whose duty it was to superintend and command the troops of their respective districts.

The custom of Imperial Capitulations was introduced at the time of the accession of Charles V. to the Imperial throne (1519). The Electors, apprehensive of the formidable power of that prince, thought proper to limit it by a capitulation, which they made him sign and solemnly swear to observe. This compact between the new Emperor and the Electors, renewed under every subsequent reign, has been always considered as the grand charter of the liberties of the Germanic body.

The dissensions on the score of religion that happened about the beginning of the sixteenth century, gave rise to a long series of troubles and civil wars, which proved of advantage to the House of Austria, by the confirmation of their power in the Empire. The first of these is known by the name of the war of Smalcalde, of which the following is a brief sketch. The Emperor Charles V., in the first diet which he held at Worms (1521), had issued an edict of proscription against Luther and his adherents, ordaining that they should be treated as enemies of the Empire, and prosecuted to the utmost rigour of the law. The execution of this edict was incessantly urged by the Emperor and the Pope's legates, until the whole Empire was in a

state of combustion. The Catholic princes, at the instigation of Cardinal Campeggio, assembled at Ratisbonne (1524), and there adopted measures of extreme rigour, for putting the edict into execution within their respective states. The case was by no means the same with the princes and states who adhered to the Reformation, or who gave it their protection. To apply the conditions of the edict to them, it would have been necessary to come to a civil war, which the more prudent members of the Germanic body sought to avoid. This religious schism was still more aggravated at the Diet of Augsburg, where the Emperor issued a decree, condemning the Confession of Faith which the Protestant princes had presented to him. This decree limited a time within which they were commanded, in so far as regarded the articles in dispute, to conform to the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Thus urged to extremities, the Protestant leaders determined to assemble at Smalkalde before the end of this very year (1530), where they laid the foundation of a *Union*, or defensive alliance, which was afterwards renewed at different times. John Frederic, Elector of Saxony, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, declared themselves chiefs of this Union. In opposition to this confederacy, the Catholic princes instituted the *Holy League*; so called because its object was the defence of the Catholic religion.

Every thing seemed to announce a civil war, when a new irruption of the Turks into Hungary and Austria, induced the Catholics to sign, at Nuremberg (1530), a truce, or accommodation, with the princes of the Union; in virtue of which, a peacet between the states of the two religions was

concluded, and approved by the Emperor; to continue till a General Council, or some new assembly should decide otherwise. This peace was renewed in various subsequent assemblies. The Protestant princes, however, still persisted in their refusal to acknowledge the authority of Councils convoked by the Popes; and their confederacy daily receiving new accessions, the Emperor, after having made peace with France, at Crepy (1544), and concluded an armistice of five years with the Turks, resolved to declare war against these schismatics, who, presuming on their union and their amicable relations with foreign powers, thought themselves capable of dictating laws to the Empire. He issued an edict of proscription (1546) against the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, the two chiefs of the Union; and having entered into a secret alliance with Duke Maurice, a younger branch of the family of Saxony, and a near relation of the Elector, he succeeded in transferring the theatre of war from the Danube to the Elbe. The Elector being defeated by the Emperor, in an action which took place at Mecklenburg (1547), fell into the hands of the conqueror; and the Landgrave of Hesse met with the same fate two months after. The Union of Smalcalde was then dissolved, and the Emperor, who now saw himself master of Germany, assembled a Diet at Augsburg, in which he acted the part of a dictator. A large detachment of his troops, billeted on the city, served as his body guard, while the rest of his army was encamped in the neighbourhood. At this diet, he conferred on Duke Maurice the Electorate of Saxony, of which he had deprived his prisoner, John Frederick. The investi-

ture of the new Elector took place at Augsburg (1548); and what deserves to be particularly remarked in this diet is, that the Emperor entered into a scheme for the entire ruin and extirpation of Protestantism, by compelling the princes and states of the Reformation to rejoin the Catholic Church, by means of a formula which he made them adopt, known by the name of the *Interim*; and which, by its preliminary arrangement, allowed them only the use of the communion in both kinds, and the marriage of their priests, until the whole matter should be decided by a Council.

The victories of Charles V., which seemed to have made him absolute master of the Empire, were soon followed by reverses, which eclipsed all the former glory of his reign. The Elector Maurice, though indebted to him for his new dignity, thought he might take advantage of the distressed condition to which that prince was reduced by the low state of his finances, to make a new attempt to limit his authority, and restore the Protestant religion. With this view, having inlisted some of the princes of the Empire in his cause, and concluded a secret treaty with Henry II. of France, at Chambord, he marched with such rapidity against the Emperor, that he nearly surprised him at Inspruck, and obliged him to have recourse to the mediation of his brother Ferdinand, when a treaty was concluded with Maurice, which was signed at Passau (1552). There the liberty of the Protestant worship was sanctioned; and it was agreed that a General Council should be summoned to draw up the articles of a solid and permanent peace between the states of both religions.

This diet, which was long retarded by political

events, did not assemble at Augsburg till the year (1555). There a definitive peace was concluded on the subject of religion, and it was ordained that both Protestant and Catholic states should enjoy a perfect liberty of worship; and that no reunion should ever be attempted by any other than amicable means. The secularising of the ecclesiastical revenues, which the Protestant princes had introduced into their states, was ratified; but there was one of the articles of the treaty which expressly provided, that every prelate or churchman, who renounced his ancient faith to embrace the Confession of Augsburg, should lose his benefice. This latter clause, known by the name of *Ecclesiastical Reserve*, did not pass but with the most determined opposition.

Differences of more kinds than one sprung from this treaty of peace,—the articles of which each party interpreted to their own advantage. Hence those stratagems which at length occasioned a new war—that of the Thirty Years. The Protestant Princes and States, wishing to provide for their own security, and to put an end to those arbitrary measures, of which they thought they had reason to complain, assembled at Heilbronn (1594), and there laid the foundation of a new union, which was confirmed in the assemblies held at Halle, in Suabia, in the years 1608 and 1610. The chief promoter of this union was Henry IV. of France, who designed to use it as a check on the ambition of the House of Austria; and as a means for carrying into execution the grand project which he meditated with regard to the pacification of Europe. He concluded an alliance with the Princes of the Union, and determined the

number of troops to be furnished by each of the contracting parties. The Catholic princes and States, afraid of being taken unawares, renewed their League, which they signed at Wurtzburg (1609). The rich duchy of Juliers, which had become vacant this same year, was contested by several claimants; and as Austria was equally desirous of possessing it, this was made the occasion of raising powerful armies in France, Germany, Italy, and the Low Countries. A considerable number of troops had already taken the field, about the beginning of the year 1610, when the unexpected death of Henry IV. disconcerted all their measures. This changed the politics of the French court, and also induced the Princes of the Union to conclude a treaty with the League,—the articles of which were signed at Munich and Wildstett (1610).

In this manner the resentment of both parties was suspended for the moment; but the cause of their disunion still remained, which at length (1618) kindled a war that extended from Bohemia over all Germany, and involved, in course of time, a great part of Europe. The history of this tedious war, in which politics had as great a share as zeal for religion, may be divided into four principal periods, namely, the Palatine, the Danish, the Swedish, and the French war. Frederick V., Elector Palatine, and head of the Protestant Union, having been raised to the throne by the Bohemian States (1619), which had rebelled against the Emperor Ferdinand II., engaged in a war with that prince; but being deserted by his allies, and defeated at the battle of Prague (1620), he was driven from Bohemia, and stripped of all his

dominions. The victorious arms of Austria soon extended their conquests over a great part of the Empire.

Christian IV., King of Denmark, who was in alliance with most of the Protestant princes, next undertook the defence of the federal system; but he was not more fortunate than the Elector-Palatine had been. Being defeated by Tilly, at the famous battle of Lutzen (1626), he was compelled to abandon the cause of his allies, and to sign a separate peace with the Emperor at Lubeck (1629). Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, pursued the career of the Danish monarch. Encouraged by France, he put himself at the head of the Protestant princes, with the view of checking the ambitious projects of Ferdinand II., who, by means of his general, Wallenstein, whom he had created Duke of Friedland, and invested in the Duchy of Mecklenburg, was dictating the law to the whole Empire, and even threatening the kingdoms of the North. Nothing could be more splendid than the campaigns of the Swedish hero in Germany, and the victories which he obtained at Leipsic (1631), and Lutzen (1632); but having been slain in the latter action, the affairs of the Swedes began to decline; and they were totally ruined by the defeat which they sustained at Nordlingen (1634). From that time the Elector of Saxony, John George I., renounced the alliance of Sweden; and in yielding up Lusace to the Emperor, he consented to a separate treaty of peace, which was signed at Prague (1635).

It was at this period that France, which till then had but feebly supported the Swedes and the Protestant Princes, thought it of advantage to her in-

terests to undertake their defence against Austria. Having declared war against Spain, she marched numerous armies at once into Italy, Spain, Germany, and the Low Countries. Bernard, Prince of Saxe Weimar, and the three French Generals, Guebriant, Turenne, and the Duke d'Enghien, signalized themselves by their exploits in the Imperial war; while the disciples of Gustavus Adolphus, Banier, Torstenston, and Wrangel, distinguished themselves at the head of the Swedish armies, in the various campaigns which took place, from the year 1635 till the conclusion of the peace. Never were negotiations more tedious or more complicated than those which preceded the treaty of Westphalia. The preliminaries were signed at Hamburgh in 1641; but the opening of the Congress at Munster and Osnaburg, did not take place till 1644. The Counts D'Avaux and Servien, the plenipotentiaries of France, shared with Oxenstiern and Salvius, the Swedish Envoys, the principal glory of this negotiation, which was protracted on purpose, as the belligerent powers were daily expecting to see the events of the war change in their favour. It was not until the 24th of October 1648, that the peace was finally signed at Munster and Osnaburg.

This peace, which was renewed in every subsequent treaty, and made a fundamental law of the Empire, fixed definitively the constitution of the Germanic Body. The territorial rights of the states, known by the name of *superiority*—the privilege of making alliances with each other, and with foreign powers—and advising with the Emperor at the Diets, in every thing that concerned the general administration of the Empire, were confirmed to them in the most authentic manner,

and guaranteed by the consent of foreign powers. As to ecclesiastical affairs, the Religious Peace of 1555 was confirmed anew, and extended to those who were known by the name of the *Reformed*, or *Calvinists*. The state of religion, the forms of public worship, and the enjoyment of ecclesiastical benefices, throughout the whole Empire, were regulated according to the decree, called *Uti possidetis*, of the 1st of January 1624, which was termed the *normal*, or *decretory* year. In this treaty, France obtained, by way of indemnity, the sovereignty of the three bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, as well as that of Alsace. The compensation of the other parties interested, was settled in a great measure at the expense of the Church, and by means of secularizing several bishoprics and ecclesiastical benefices.

Besides Pomerania and the city of Wismar, Sweden got the archbishopric of Bremen, and the bishopric of Verden. To the House of Brandenburg, they assigned Upper Pomerania, the archbishopric of Magdeburg, the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin. The House of Mecklenburg received, in lieu of the city of Wismar, the bishoprics of Schwerin and Ratzeburg. The princely abbey of Hirschfeld was adjudged to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the alternity of the bishopric of Osnaburg, to the House of Brunswick-Luneburg. An eighth Electorate was instituted in favour of the Elector Palatine, whom the Emperor, during the war, had divested of his dignity, which, with the Upper Palatinate, he had conferred on the Duke of Bavaria.

The greater part of the provinces known by

the name of the Low Countries, made part of the ancient kingdom of Lorraine, which had been united to the German Empire since the tenth century. The principal of these had been acquired by the Dukes of Burgundy, who made them over, with other estates, to the House of Austria (1477). Charles V. added the provinces of Friesland, Groningen, and Gueldres, to the states to which he had succeeded in Burgundy. He united the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries into one and the same government; and ordered, by the *Pragmatic* which he published (1549), that they should never henceforth be disunited. This same prince, at the diet of Augsburg (1548), entered into a negociation with the Germanic Body, in virtue of which he consented to put these provinces under their protection; under condition of their observing the public peace, and paying into the exchequer of the Empire double the contribution of an Electorate. He guaranteed to the princes of the Low Countries a vote and a seat at the Diet, as chiefs of the circle of Burgundy. These provinces, moreover, were to be considered as free and independent sovereignties, without being subject to the jurisdiction either of the Empire or of the Imperial Chamber, who were not authorized to proceed against them, except when they were found in arrears with the payment of their contingent, or when they infringed the law of the public peace.

Charles V. having transferred these countries to his son, Philip II. of Spain, they were then incorporated with the Spanish monarchy; and it was under the reign of this latter prince that those troubles began which gave rise to the Republic of

the United Provinces of the Low Countries. The true origin of these troubles is to be found in the despotism of Philip II., and in his extravagant and fanatical zeal for the Catholic religion. This prince, the declared enemy of the rights and liberties of the Belgic Provinces, was mortified to witness the religious privileges which they enjoyed; under favour of which the doctrines of the Reformation were daily making new progress. Being resolved to extirpate this new faith, together with the political liberties which served to protect it, he introduced the tribunal of the Inquisition (1559), as the most sure and infallible support of despotism. With the consent and authority of Pope Paul IV., he suppressed, for this purpose, the metropolitan and diocesan rights which the archbishops and bishops of the Empire and of France had exercised in the Low Countries; he instituted three new bishoprics at Utrecht, Cambray, and Malines; and under their jurisdiction he put thirteen new bishoprics which he had erected, besides those of Arras and Tournay. Having in this way augmented the number of his satellites in the assembly of the States-General, he suppressed a great multitude of abbeys and monasteries, the revenues of which he applied to the endowment of his newly made bishoprics.

These innovations, added to the publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent, according to his orders, excited a very general discontent. The repeated remonstrances on the part of the States, having produced no effect on the inflexible mind of Philip, the nobility took the resolution of forming a confederacy at Breda, known by the name of the *Compromise*. The confederates drew up

a request, which was addressed to Margaret of Austria, the natural daughter of Charles V., and Regent of the Low Countries, under the King of Spain. Four hundred gentlemen, headed by Henry de Brederodé, a descendant of the ancient Counts of Holland, and Louis of Nassau, brother to the Prince of Orange, repaired to Brussels (1566), and there presented this request, which may be considered as the commencement of the troubles in the Low Countries. It was on this account that the name of *Gueux* or *Beggars* was given to the Confederates, which has become so famous in the history of these wars.

About this same time, the populace collected in mobs in several towns of the Low Countries, and fell upon the churches and monasteries; and having broken down their altars and images, they introduced the exercise of the Protestant religion by force. The storm, however, was calmed; the Catholic worship was reestablished every where; and the confederacy of the nobles dissolved, several of whom, distrustful of this apparent tranquillity, retired to foreign countries. William Prince of Orange, Louis of Nassau, the Counts de Culemburg and Berg, and the Count de Brederodé, were in the number of these emigrants. Philip II., instead of adopting measures of moderation and clemency, according to the advice of the Regent, was determined to avenge, in the most signal manner, this outrage against his religion and the majesty of his throne. He sent the famous Duke of Alba or Alva into the Low Countries, at the head of an army of 20,000 men (1567). The Regent then gave in her resignation. A general terror overspread the country. Vast numbers of manufac-

turers and merchants took refuge in England, carrying along with them their arts and their industry. Hence the commerce and manufactures of the Low Countries, which had formerly been the most flourishing in Europe, fell entirely into decay.

The Duke of Alva, immediately on his arrival, established a tribunal or court, for investigating the excesses that had been committed during these commotions. This council, which the Flemings called the "Council of Blood," informed against all those who had been in any way concerned with the *Beggars*, (a sort of *Huguenots*); who had frequented their preachings, contributed to the support of their ministers or the building of their churches; or harboured and protected these heretics, either directly or indirectly. Before this council, whose only judges were the Duke of Alva and his confidant John de Vargas, were cited high and low, without distinction; and all those whose wealth excited their cupidity. There they instituted proceedings against the absent and the present, the dead and the living, and confiscated their goods. Eighteen thousand persons perished by the hands of the executioner, and more than 30,000 others were entirely ruined. Among the number of those illustrious victims of Alva's cruelty, were the Counts Egmont and Horn, who were both beheaded. Their execution excited a general indignation, and was the signal of revolt and civil war throughout the Low Countries.

The Beggars, who seemed almost forgotten, began to revive; and were afterwards distinguished into three kinds. All the malcontents, as well as the adherents of Luther and Calvin, were called simply

by this name. Those were called *Beggars of the Woods*, who concealed themselves in the forests and marshes ; never sallying forth but in the night, to commit all sorts of excesses. Lastly, the *Maritime or Marine Beggars*, were those who employed themselves in piracy ; infesting the coasts, and making descents on the country.

It was in this situation of affairs that the Prince of Orange, one of the richest proprietors in the Low Countries, assisted by his brother the Count of Nassau, assembled different bodies of troops in the Empire, with which he attacked the Low Countries in several places at once (1658). Failing in these first attempts, he soon changed his plan ; and associating the Marine Beggars in the cause, he ventured to attack the Spaniards by sea. The Beggars, encouraged by that Prince, and William Count de la Mark, surnamed the *Boar of Ardennes*, took the city of Brille by surprise (1572); situated in the Isle of Voorn, and regarded as the stronghold of the new republic of the Belgic Provinces. The capture of the port of Brille caused a revolution in Zealand. All the cities of that province, except Middleburg, opened their gates to the Beggars ; and their example was followed by most of the towns in Holland. An assembly of the States of this latter province met this same year at Dort, where they laid the foundation of their new republic. The Prince of Orange was there declared *Stadtholder* or Governor of the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht ; and they agreed never to treat with the Spaniards, except by common consent. The public exercise of the reformed religion was introduced, according to the form of Geneva.

This rising republic became more firmly e-

established in consequence of several advantages which the Confederates had gained over the Spaniards, whose troops being badly paid, at length mutinied; and breaking out into the greatest disorders, they pillaged several cities, among others Antwerp, and laid waste the whole of the Low Countries. The States General, then assembled at Brussels, implored the assistance of the Prince of Orange and the Confederates. A negociation was then opened at Ghent (1576), between the States of Brussels, and those of Holland and Zealand; where a general union, known by the name of the *Pacification of Ghent*, was signed. They engaged mutually to assist each other, with the view of expelling the Spanish troops, and never more permitting them to enter the Low Countries. The Confederates, who were in alliance with Queen Elizabeth of England, pursued the Spaniards every where, who soon saw themselves reduced to the single provinces of Luxemburg, Limburg, and Namur.

They were on the point of being expelled from these also, when the government of the Low Countries was intrusted to Alexander Farnesé, Prince of Parma. Equally distinguished as a politician and a warrior, this Prince revived the Spanish interests. Taking advantage of the dissensions which had arisen among the Confederates from the diversity of their religious opinions, he again reduced the provinces of Flanders, Artois, and Hainault, under the Spanish dominion. He took the city of Maestricht by assault, and entered into a negociation with the States-General of the Low Countries at Cologne, under the mediation of the Emperor Rodolph II., the Pope, and some of the princes of the Empire. This negotiation proved

unsuccessful ; but the Prince of Orange, foreseeing that the general confederacy could not last, conceived the plan of a more intimate union among the Provinces ; which he regarded as the most fit to make head against the Spaniards. He fixed on the maritime provinces, such as Holland, Zealand, and Friesland ; and above all, on those whom the same religious creed, viz. the Calvinistic, had attached to the same interests. The commerce of Holland, and Zealand, and Friesland, began to make new progress daily. Amsterdam was rising on the ruins of Antwerp. The flourishing state of their marine rendered these provinces formidable by sea ; and gave them the means not only of repelling the efforts of the Spaniards, but even of protecting the neighbouring provinces which might join this Union. Such were the motives which induced the Prince of Orange to form the special confederacy of the Seven Provinces, the basis of which he laid by the famous treaty of Union concluded at Utrecht (1579). That Union was there declared perpetual and indissoluble ; and it was agreed that the Seven Provinces, viz. those of Gueldres, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Overijssel, Freisland, and Groningen, should henceforth be considered as one and the same Province. Each of these, nevertheless, was guaranteed in the possession of their rights and privileges—that is, their absolute superiority in every thing regarding their own internal administration.

[We may remark, however, that these insurrectionary provinces had not originally the design of forming a republic. Their intention, at first, was only to maintain their political privileges ; and they did not absolutely shake off the Spanish

authority until they despaired of reconciliation. Moreover, they repeatedly offered the sovereignty of their States to different foreign princes ; and it was not till the Union of Utrecht that the Seven Provinces became a federal republic. Consequently every thing remained on its ancient footing ; and some of the provinces even retained their Stadtholders or governors, at the head of their administration. Hence that mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which prevailed in these countries ; and hence, too, the feeble tie which united them with each other, and which would probably have speedily broken, if Holland had not, by its riches and its power, obtained an influence and a preponderance which maintained the Union.]

The declaration of the independence of the United Provinces did not take place till 1581 ; when the Prince of Orange induced the States-General to make a formal proclamation of it, out of revenge for the furious edicts of proscription which the Court of Spain had issued against him. The Prince, however, was assassinated at Delft in 1564 ;⁷ and the Spaniards took advantage of the consternation which this event had spread among the Confederates, to reconquer most of the provinces of the Low Countries. The general Confederacy languished away by degrees ; and the Union of Utrecht was the only one maintained among the Seven Provinces. This new republic, which was in strict alliance with England, not only made head against the Spaniards, but gained a considerable increase of strength by the vast numbers of refugees from the different Belgic provinces, who took shelter there ; as well as from

France, where the persecution still raged violently against the Protestants. It is calculated that after the taking of Antwerp by the Prince of Parma in 1585, above a hundred thousand of these fugitives transported themselves to Holland and Amsterdam, carrying with them their wealth and their industry.

From this date the commerce of the Confederate States increased every day; and in 1595 they extended it as far as India and the Eastern Seas. The Dutch India Company was established in 1602. Besides the exclusive commerce of India, which was guaranteed to them by their charter, they became likewise a political body, under the sovereignty of the States-General of the United Provinces. Supported by a formidable marine, they acquired vast influence in the East by their conquests over the Portuguese, whom they dispossessed by degrees of all their principal establishments in India. The Spaniards, finding their efforts to reduce the Confederates by force of arms ineffectual, set on foot a negotiation at Antwerp (1609), under the mediation of France and England; in consequence of which, a truce of twelve years was concluded between Spain and the United Provinces. It was chiefly during this time that the Confederates extended their commerce over all parts of the globe, while their marine daily increased in strength and importance; which soon raised them to the rank of being the second maritime power, and gave them a decisive influence over the political affairs of Europe.

At the expiry of this truce, hostilities were renewed with Spain. The Dutch carried on the war for twenty-five years with great glory, under

the auspices of their Stadtholders, Maurice and Henry Frederic, Princes of Orange, who discovered great military talents. One event, which proved favourable for the Republicans, was the war that broke out between France and Spain, and which was followed by a strict alliance between France and the States-General. The partition of the Spanish Netherlands was settled by this treaty; and the allied powers entered into an engagement never to make peace or truce with Spain, except by common consent. This latter clause, however, did not prevent the States-General from concluding at Munster a separate peace with Spain, to the exclusion of France (1648). By this peace the King of Spain acknowledged the United Provinces as free and independent States; he gave up to them all the places which they had seized in Brabant, Flanders and Limburg, viz. Bois-le-Duc, Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, and Maestricht; as also their possessions in the East and West Indies, in Asia, Africa, and America. The closing of the Scheld, which was granted in favour of the United Provinces, entirely ruined the city of Antwerp, and shut out the Spanish Netherlands from all maritime commerce.

The feudal system of the Swiss, which had originated in the fourteenth century, acquired a new importance towards the end of the fifteenth, by reason of the success of the confederates in their war with Charles Duke of Burgundy. This prince, who was of a hot and turbulent spirit, was constantly occupied with projects of conquest. Taking advantage of the ruinous state of the finances of the Archduke Sigismund of Austria, he induced him to sell him the territories of Brisgau and Alsace, with the

right of repurchase (1649). Peter de Hagenbach, a gentleman of Alsace, who had been appointed governor of these countries by the Duke, had oppressed the Austrian subjects, and harassed the whole neighbouring states; especially the Swiss. The complaints which were made on this score to the Duke, having only rendered Hagenbach still more insolent, the Swiss, with the concurrence of several states of the Empire, paid down, at Basle, the sums stipulated in the contract for repurchasing the two provinces; and, by force of arms, they reestablished the Austrian prince in the possession of Alsace and Brisgau. They even went so far as to institute legal proceedings against Hagenbach, who was in consequence beheaded at Brisach in 1474.

The Duke, determined to avenge this insult, assembled an army of a hundred thousand men, with which he penetrated through Franche-Comté into Switzerland. He was defeated in the first action, which took place at Granson (1476); after which he reinforced his troops, and laid siege to Morat. Here he was again attacked by the Swiss, who killed eighteen thousand of his men, and seized the whole of his camp and baggage. The Duke of Lorraine, an ally of the Swiss, was then restored to those states of which the Duke of Burgundy had deprived him. This latter prince, in a great fury, came and laid siege to Nancy. The Swiss marched to the relief of this place, where they fought a third and last battle with the Duke, who was here defeated and slain (1477).

These victories of the Swiss over the Duke of Burgundy, one of the most powerful princes of his time, raised the fame of their arms; and made their friendship and alliance be courted by the first

sovereigns in Europe, especially by France. Their confederacy, which had formerly been composed of only eight cantons, was augmented by the accession of two new states, Friburg and Soleure, which were enrolled in the number of cantons.

From this time the Swiss were no longer afraid to break the ties that bound them to the Germanic Body, as members of the ancient kingdom of Arles. The Diet of Worms, in 1495, having granted the Emperor Maximilian succours against the French and the Turks, the Swiss alleged their immunities, and their alliance with France, as a pretext for refusing their contingent of supplies. This demand, however, was renewed at the Diet of Lindau, in 1496, which required them to renounce their alliance with France, and accede to the League of Swabia ; as also to submit themselves to the Imperial Chamber, and the law of the public peace ; and to furnish their quota for the support of that Chamber, and the other contributions of the Empire. All these demands were resisted by the Helvetic Body, who regarded them as contrary to their rights and privileges. Meantime the Grisons had allied themselves with the Swiss, in order to obtain their protection under the existing differences between them and the Tyrolese.

The Emperor Maximilian seized this pretext for making war against the Cantons. Being desirous of vindicating the dignity of the Empire, which had been outraged by the Swiss, and of avenging the insults offered to his own family, he stirred up the League of Swabia to oppose them ; and attacked them in different points at once. Eight battles were fought in succession, in course

of that campaign ; all of which, with one solitary exception, were in favour of the Swiss, while the Imperialists lost more than twenty thousand men. Maximilian and his allies, the Swabian League, then came to the resolution of making their peace with the Cantons, which was concluded at Basle (1499). Both parties made a mutual restitution of what they had wrested from each other ; and it was agreed, that the differences between the Emperor, as Count of Tyrol, and the Grisons, should be brought to an amicable termination. This peace forms a memorable era in the history of the Helvetic Confederacy, whose independence, with regard to the German Emperor, was from that time considered as decided ; although no mention of this was made in the treaty, and although the Swiss still continued for some time to request from the Emperors the confirmation of their immunities. Two immediate cities of the Empire, those of Basle and Schaffhausen, took occasion, from these latter events, to solicit their admission into the Confederacy. They were received as allies, under the title of Cantons (1501) ; and the territory of Appenzel, which was admitted in like manner (1513), formed the thirteenth and last Canton.

The alliance which the Swiss had kept up with France, since the reigns of Charles VII. and Louis XI., tended greatly to secure the independence of the Helvetic Body.⁸ This alliance, which Louis XI. had made an instrument for humbling the power of the Duke of Burgundy, was never but once broken, in the reign of Louis XII., on account of the Holy League, into which the Swiss were drawn by the intrigues of the Bishop of Sion (1512). The French were then expelled from the

Milanese territory by the Swiss, who placed there the Duke Maximilian Sforza. It was in gratitude for this service, that the duke ceded to the Swiss, by a treaty which was concluded at Basle, the four bailiwicks of Lugano, Locarno, Mendrisio and Val-Maggio, which he dismembered from the Milanais. Though conquerors at the battle of Novara the Swiss experienced a sanguinary defeat at Marignano; when they judged it for their interest to renew their alliance with France (1513). A treaty of perpetual peace was signed at Friburg between these two States (1516), which was soon after followed by a new treaty of alliance, concluded with Francis I. at Lucerne (1521), and regularly renewed under the subsequent reigns.

The change which took place in religion, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, extended its influence to Switzerland, where it kindled the flame of civil discord. Four cantons, those of Zurich, Berne, Schauffhausen, and Basle, renouncing entirely the Romish faith, had embraced the doctrines of Zuingle and Calvin; while two others, viz. Glaris and Appenzel, were divided between the old and the new opinions. The Reformation having likewise found its way into the common bailiwicks, the Catholic Cantons rose in opposition to it (1531); denying liberty of conscience to the inhabitants. Hence, a war arose between the Cantons of the two religions; which, however, was terminated the same year by a treaty of peace, guaranteeing to such parishes within the bailiwicks as had embraced the new doctrines, the liberty of still adhering to them. The same revolution extended to Geneva, whose inhabitants had declared solemnly in favour of the reformed worship, and erected them-

selves into a free and independent republic (1584). The church of Geneva, under the direction of Calvin, became the centre and citadel of the Reformation; while the academy founded in that city, produced a vast number of theologians and celebrated scholars. It was at this time that the duke of Savoy planned the blockade of Geneva, to enforce certain ancient rights which he claimed over that city; but the Bernese espoused the cause of the Genevans, in virtue of the treaties of common citizenship which subsisted between them. This Canton having entered into alliance with Francis I., declared war against the duke of Savoy (1536); and in less than three months took from him the Pays de Vaud. Being desirous of interesting their neighbours the Friburgers in their cause, they invited them to take possession of all those places that might suit their convenience; and it was on this occasion that the city of Friburg acquired the principal part of its territory. These acquisitions were confirmed to the two Cantons, by the treaty which the Bernese concluded at Lausanne with the duke of Savoy (1564).

The German Empire from time to time renewed its pretensions on Switzerland, and the Imperial Chamber usurped an occasional jurisdiction over one or other of the Cantons. Negotiations for a general peace having commenced at Munster and Osnaburg, the thirteen Cantons sent their minister or envoy to watch over the interests of the Helvetic Body at that congress; and they obtained, through the intervention of France and Sweden, that in one of the articles of the treaty it should be declared, that the city of Basle, and the other Swiss Cantons, were in possession of full li-

erty, and independent of the Empire, and in no respect subject to its tribunals.

In Italy, the authority of the Emperor of Germany, which had silently declined during the preceding centuries, languished more and more under the long and feeble reign of Frederic III. At length it was reduced to the mere ceremony of coronation, and the simple exercise of some honorary and feudal rights, such as the investitures which the Imperial Court continued to grant to the vassals of Lombardy. Although the Imperial dignity implied the royalty of Italy, which was considered as indissolubly united to it, nevertheless it was the custom that the Kings of Germany should have themselves crowned separately, Kings of Italy at Milan, and Emperors at Rome. Frederic III., having had certain reasons for avoiding his coronation at Milan, received from the hands of Pope Nicholas V., in his own capital, the two crowns of Italy and Rome. Maximilian I., being prevented by the Venetians from repairing to Italy for his coronation (1508), was content to take the title of *Emperor Elect*, which his successors in the Empire have retained till the present time. Charles V. was the last Emperor to whom the Pope, Clement VII., administered this double coronation of King of Italy and Emperor, at Bologna, in 1530.

The Popes, the Kings of Naples, the Dukes of Milan, and the Republics of Venice and Florence, were the principal powers that shared among them the dominion of Italy towards the end of the fifteenth century. The continual wars which these states waged with each other, added to the weak-

ness of the German Emperors, encouraged foreign powers to form plans of aggrandisement and conquest over these countries. The Kings of France, Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I., led away by a mania for conquest, undertook several expeditions into Italy, for enforcing their claims either on the kingdom of Naples, or the duchy of Milan. They were thwarted in their schemes by the Kings of Spain, who, being already masters of Sicily and Sardinia, thought they behoved also to extend their views to the Continent of Italy. Ferdinand the Catholic deprived the French of the kingdom of Naples (1500). His successor, Charles V., expelled them from the Milanois, and obliged Francis I., by the treaties of Madrid (1526), Cambray (1529), and Crepy (1544), to give up his pretensions on the kingdom of Naples, and the duchy of Milan. From this time the Spaniards were the predominating power in Italy for more than a hundred years.

In the midst of these revolutions, there arose three new principalities within that kingdom; those of Florence, Parma, and Malta. The Republic of Florence held a distinguished rank in Italy during the fifteenth century, both on account of the flourishing state of its commerce, and the large extent of its territory, which comprehended the greater part of Tuscany, and gave to this Republic the means of holding the balance between the other powers of Italy. The opulent family of the Medici here exercised a high degree of influence; they ruled not by force but by their munificence, and the judicious use which they made of their great riches. The credit and popularity of the Medici, excited envy and persecution against

them, and caused them to be several times banished from Florence. They were expelled from this latter place at the same time that Pope Clement VII., who was of this family, was besieged by the Imperialists in Rome (1527). That pontiff, in making his peace with Charles V., obtained his consent that the Medici should be reestablished at Florence, in the state in which they were before their last banishment. The Emperor even promised the Pope to give Alexander de Medici his natural daughter in marriage, with a considerable dowry. The Florentines, however, having shown some reluctance to receive the Medici, their city was besieged by the Imperial army, and compelled to surrender by capitulation (1530).

The Emperor, by a charter dated at Augsburg on the 28th of August following, preserved to the city of Florence its ancient republican forms. Alexander de Medici was declared governor-in-chief of the state; but this dignity was vested in himself and his male descendants, who could only enjoy it according to the order of primogeniture. He was authorized, moreover, to construct a citadel at Florence, by means of which he afterwards exercised an absolute power over his fellow-citizens. As for the ducal dignity with which the new Prince of Florence was vested, it properly belonged to the duchy of Parma, in the kingdom of Naples, which the Emperor had conferred on him.

Alexander de Medici did not long enjoy his new honours. He was universally abhorred for his cruelties, and assassinated by Laurentio de Medici, one of his own near relations (1537). His successor in the duchy was Cosmo de Medici, who annexed to the territory of Florence that of the ancient

republic of Sienna, which the Emperor Charles V. had conquered, and conferred on his son Philip II. in name of the Empire (1554). This latter prince being desirous of seducing Cosmo from his alliance with the Pope and the King of France, with whom the Spaniards were at war, granted him the investiture of the territory of Sienna, as a *mesne-tenure* holding of the crown of Spain, by way of equivalent for the considerable sums which he had advanced to Charles V. while he was carrying on the siege of Sienna. In transferring the Siennois to the Duke, Philip reserved for himself the ports of Tuscany, such as Porto Ercole, Orbitello, Telamone, Monte-Argentaro, St Stefano, Longone, Piombino, and the whole island of Elba, with the exception of Porto Ferrajo. By the same treaty, Cosmo engaged to furnish supplies to the Spaniards, for the defence of Milan and the kingdom of Naples.

At length the Medici obtained the dignity of Grand Dukes, on occasion of the difference that had risen between them and the Dukes of Ferrara, on the subject of precedency. The Pope terminated this dispute, by granting to Cosmo the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany, with the royal honours (1569). The Emperor, however, took it amiss that the Pope should undertake to confer secular dignities in Italy; thus encroaching on a right which he alleged belonged only to himself, in virtue of his being King of Italy. The quarrels which this affair had occasioned between the Court of Rome and the Empire, were adjusted in 1576, when the Emperor Maximilian II. granted to Francis de Medici, the brother and successor of Cosmo, the dignity of Grand Duke, on condition

that he should acknowledge it as a tenure of the Empire, and not of the Pope.

Among the number of those republics which the Visconti of Milan had subdued and overthrown in the fourteenth century, were those of Parma and Placentia. They had formed a dependency of the duchy of Milan until 1512, when Louis XII. having been expelled from the Milanois by the Allies of the Holy League, these cities were surrendered by the Swiss to Pope Julius II., who laid some claim to them, as making part of the dowry of the famous Countess Matilda. The Emperor Maximilian ceded them to the Pope by the treaty of peace which he made with him in 1512. Francis I. took these cities again from the court of Rome, when he reconquered the duchy of Milan (1515); but this prince having also been expelled from the Milanois (1521), the Pope again got possession of Parma and Placentia, in virtue of the treaty which he had concluded with Charles V., for the reestablishment of Francis Sforza in the duchy of Milan. These cities continued to form part of the Ecclesiastical States until 1545, when they were dismembered from it by Paul III., who erected them into duchies, and conferred them on his son Peter Louis Farnese, and his heirs-male in the order of primogeniture; to be held under the title of fiefs of the Holy See, and on condition of paying an annual tribute of nine thousand ducats.

This elevation of a man whose very birth seemed a disgrace to the pontiff, gave universal offence. The new Duke of Parma soon rendered himself so odious by his dissolute life, his crimes and scandalous excesses, that a conspiracy was formed

against him ; and he was assassinated in the citadel of Placentia in 1547. Ferdinand Gonzaga, who was implicated, as is alleged, in this assassination, then took possession of Placentia in name of the Emperor ; and it was not till 1557 that Philip II. of Spain restored that city, with its dependencies, to Octavius Farnese, son and successor of the murdered prince. The house of Farnese held the duchy of Parma as a fief of the Ecclesiastical States, until the extinction of the male line in 1731.

The Knights of St John of Jerusalem, after their expulsion from the Holy Land, had retired to the Isle of Cyprus, and from thence to Rhodes, in 1310, of which they had dispossessed the Greeks. They did not maintain possession of this place longer than 1523, when Soliman the Great undertook the siege of Rhodes, with an army of two hundred thousand men, and a fleet of four hundred sail. The Knights boldly repulsed the different attacks of the Turks ; but being entirely dependent on their own forces, and receiving no succour from the powers of Christendom, they were compelled to capitulate, after an obstinate defence of six months. Leaving Rhodes, these Knights took shelter in Viterbo, belonging to the States of the Church, where they were cordially received by Pope Clement VII. There they remained until the Emperor Charles V. granted them the Isle of Malta, which became their principal residence (1530). That prince ceded to them the islands of Malta and Gozzo, with the city of Tripoli in Africa, on condition of holding them from him and his successors in the kingdom of Sicily, as noble fiefs, frank and free, without any other obligation

than the annual gift of a falcon, in token of their domanial tenure, and presenting to the King of Sicily three of their subjects, of whom he was to choose one, on each vacancy of the bishopric of Malta. Charles V. added another clause, that if ever the Order should leave Malta and fix their residence elsewhere, that island should revert to the King of Sicily. The Knights of St John continued in the sovereignty of Malta and Gozzo till 1798; but they lost Tripoli, in 1551, which was taken from them by the Turks.

A memorable revolution happened at Genoa, about the beginning of the sixteenth century. That republic, after having for a long time formed part of the duchy of Milan, recovered its ancient independence about the time when the French and Spaniards disputed the sovereignty of Italy, and the conquest of the Milanais. Expelled by the Imperialists from the city of Genoa in 1522, the French had found means to repossess it (1527), with the assistance of the celebrated Andrew Doria, a noble Genoese, who had been in the service of Francis I. This distinguished admiral supplanted by favourites, and maltreated by the court, abandoned the cause of France in the following year, and espoused that of the Emperor Charles V.

The French then laid siege to the city of Naples, which was reduced to the last extremity, and on the point of surrendering, when Doria, having hoisted the Imperial flag, set sail for Naples, with the galleys under his command, and threw abundance of provisions into the besieged city. The French army, now cut off from all communication by sea, soon began to experience those calamities

from which the Imperialists had just been delivered. Their whole troops being destroyed by famine and contagious disease, the expedition to Naples fell to the ground, and the affairs of the French in Italy were totally ruined. It is alleged that Charles V., to recompense Doria for this important service, offered him the sovereignty of Genoa; and that, instead of accepting this honour, that great man stipulated for the liberty of his country, whenever it should be delivered from the yoke of France. Courting the glory of being the liberator of his native city, he sailed directly for Genoa, of which he made himself master, in a single night, without shedding one drop of blood (1528). The French garrison retired to the citadel and were obliged to capitulate for want of provisions.

This expedition procured Doria the title of Father of his Country, which was conferred on him by a decree of the Senate. It was by his advice that a committee of twelve persons was chosen to organize a new scheme of government for the republic. A register was drawn up of all those families who were to compose the Grand Council, which was destined to exercise the supreme power. The Doge was to continue in office ten years; and great care was taken to remove those causes which had previously excited factions and intestine disorders. Hence the establishment of the Genoese aristocracy, whose forms have since been preserved, with some few modifications which were introduced afterwards, in consequence of certain dissensions which had arisen between the ancient and the new nobility.

Venice, the eldest of the European republics, had reached the zenith of its greatness about the

end of the fifteenth century. The vast extent of its commerce, supported by a powerful marine, the multiplied sources of its industry, and the monopoly of the trade in the East, had made it one of the richest and most formidable States in Europe. Besides several ports on the Adriatic, and numerous settlements which they had in the Archipelago, and the trading towns on the Levant, they gained ground more and more on the continent of Italy, where they formed a considerable territory. Guided by an artful and enterprising policy, this Republic seized with marvellous avidity every circumstance which favoured its views of aggrandisement. On the occasion of their quarrels with the Duke of Ferrara, they obtained possession of the province of Polesino de Rovigo, by a treaty which they concluded with that prince in 1484.

Afterwards, having joined the League which the powers of Italy had opposed to Charles VIII. and his projects of conquest, they refused to grant supplies to the King of Naples for the recovery of his kingdom, except by his consenting to yield up the cities of Trani, Otranto, Brindisi, and Gallipoli. Louis XII., being resolved to enforce his claims on the duchy of Milan, and wishing to gain over this Republic to his interest, gave up to them, by the treaty of Blois (1499), the town of Cremona, and the whole country lying between the Oglio, the Adda, and the Po. On the death of Pope Alexander VI. (1503), they took that favourable opportunity of wresting from the Ecclesiastical States several towns of the Romagna; among others, Rimini and Faenza.

Of all the acquisitions which the Venetians made,

the most important was that of Cyprus. That island, one of the most considerable in the Mediterranean, had been conquered from the Greeks by Richard Cœur de Lion, King of England, who surrendered it to Guy of Lusignan (1192), the last king of Jerusalem, in compensation for the loss of his kingdom. From Guy de Lusignan descended a long line of Cypriot kings; the last of whom, John III., left an only daughter, named Charlotte, who succeeded him in that kingdom, and caused her husband, Louis of Savoy, to be also crowned king. There still remained a bastard son of John III., called James, who was protected by the Sultan of Egypt, to whom the kings of Cyprus were tributaries, and who succeeded in expelling Charlotte and her husband, the Prince of Savoy, from the throne (1460). James, who was desirous of putting himself under the protection of the Venetians, married Catherine Cornaro, daughter of Marco Corneille, a patrician of Venice. The Senate, in honour of this marriage, adopted Catherine, and declared her daughter of St Mark, or the Republic. James died in 1473, leaving a posthumous son, who died also in the second year of his age. The Republic then considering the kingdom of Cyprus as their own inheritance, took possession of the natural children of James, and induced Queen Catherine, by various means, to retire to Venice, and there to resign her crown into the hands of the Senate, who assigned her a pension, with the Castle of Azolo, in Trevisano, for her residence; and obtained for themselves the investiture of that island from the Sultan of Egypt (1490).

A career so prosperous was eventually followed

by a reverse of fortune ; and several circumstances concurred to accelerate the decline of this flourishing republic. They received a terrible blow by the discovery of the new passage to India round the Cape, which deprived them of the commerce of the East ; thus drying up the principal source of their wealth, as well as of their revenue and their marine. In vain did they put in practice all the arts of their policy to defeat the commercial enterprises of the Portuguese in India ; exciting against them, first the Sultans of Egypt, and afterwards the Turkish Emperors, and furnishing these Mahometan powers with supplies. The activity of the Portuguese surmounted all these obstacles. They obtained a firm settlement in the East, where in course of time they became a very formidable power. Lisbon, in place of Venice, became the emporium for the productions of India ; and the Venetians could no longer compete with them in this field of Eastern commerce. Besides, the good fortune which so long attended the undertakings of the republic, had inspired them with a passion for conquest. They took every opportunity of making encroachments on their neighbours ; and sometimes forgetting the counsels of prudence, they drew down upon themselves the jealousy and resentment of the principal States of Italy.

To this jealousy must be attributed the famous League, which Pope Julius II., the Emperor Maximilian, Louis XII., Ferdinand of Spain, and several of the Italian States, concluded at Cambray (1508), for the partition of the Venetian territory on *Terra Firma*. Louis XII. gained a signal victory over the republicans near Agnadello, which was followed by such a rapid succession of conquests, that

the Senate of Venice were struck with consternation ; and the Republic must have been infallibly lost, had Louis been supported by his allies. But the Pope and the King of Spain, who dreaded the preponderance of the French in Italy, suddenly abandoned the League, and concluded separate treaties of peace with the republicans ; nor was the Emperor Maximilian long in following their example. In consequence of this, the Venetians, after having been menaced with a total overthrow, lost only, in course of the war, the territory of Cremona and Ghiera d'Ada, with the cities and ports of Romagna and Apulia. But this loss was far surpassed by that which they experienced in their finances, their commerce and manufactures, on account of the expensive efforts which they were obliged to make in resisting their numerous enemies.

The ruin of this Republic was at length completed by the prodigious increase of the power of the Ottomans, who took from them, by degrees, their best possessions in the Archipelago and the Mediterranean. Dragged as it were in spite of themselves, into the war of Charles V. against the Turks, they lost fourteen islands in the Archipelago ; among others Chios, Patmos, Ægina, Nio, Stambalia, and Paros ; and were obliged, by the peace of Constantinople (1540), to surrender to the Turks Malvasia and Napoli di Romagna, the only two places which remained to them in the Morea.

The Turks also took from them the isle of Cyprus, the finest of their possessions in the Mediterranean. The Sultan Selim II., being determined to conquer that place, attacked it with a superior force (1570), although the Venetians had given him no ground for hostilities. He made himself master of the cities

of Nicosia and Famagusta ; and completed the conquest of the whole island, before the succours, which the King of Spain and the Pope had granted to the Venetians, could join their fleet. On the approach of the Christian army, the Turkish fleet retired within the Gulf of Lepanto, where they were attacked by the allies under the command of Don John of Austria, a natural son of Charles V. The Christians gained a complete victory (1571). The whole Turkish fleet was destroyed, and the Confederates took immense booty. The news of this defeat struck terror into the city of Constantinople, and made the Grand Signior transfer his court to Adrianople. The Christians, however, reaped no advantage from their victory. A misunderstanding arose among the Confederates, and their fleets dispersed without accomplishing any thing. The Venetians did not return to the isle of Cyprus ; and knowing well that they could not reckon on any effectual aid on the part of their allies, they determined to make peace with the Turks (1573). By this treaty they left the Porte in possession of Cyprus, and consented to pay it a sum of 300,000 ducats, to obtain the restitution of their ancient boundaries in Dalmatia. From this epoch, the republic of Venice dates its entire decay. It was evident, that it must thenceforth resign its pretensions as a leading power, and adopt a system of neutrality which might put it in condition to maintain peace with its neighbours.

England, as we have mentioned above, had been the rival of France, while the latter now became the rival of Austria. This rivalry commenced with the marriage of Maximilian of Austria, to Mary,

daughter and heiress of Charles, last Duke of Burgundy; by which the house of Austria succeeded to the whole dominions of that Prince. The Low Countries, which at that time were the principal emporium for the manufactures and commerce of Europe, formed a part of that opulent succession. Louis XI., King of France, was unable to prevent the marriage of the Austrian Prince with the heiress of Burgundy; but he took advantage of that event to detach from the territories of that princess whatever he found convenient. He seized on the duchy of Burgundy as a vacant fief of his crown, as well as the seigniories of Auxerrois, Maconnois, Bar-sur-Seine, and the towns on the Somme; and these different countries were preserved to France by the treaties of peace concluded at Arras (1482) and Senlis (1493). Such was the origin of the rivalry and bloody wars between France and Austria. The theatre of hostilities, which, under Louis XI. had been in the Low Countries, was transferred to Italy, under Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I. From thence it was changed to Germany, in the reign of Henry II.

In Italy, besides this rivalry between the two powers, there was another motive, or pretext, for war, viz. the claims of France on the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan. The claim of Louis XI. on the kingdom of Naples, had devolved to him with the county of Provence, which he inherited in virtue of the will of Charles, Count of Provence, and the last male descendant of the house of Anjou (1481). Charles VIII., the son and successor of Louis XI., urged on by youthful ambition, was determined to enforce this claim. He undertook an expedition into Italy (1494), and

took possession of the kingdom of Naples without striking a blow. But being opposed by a formidable confederacy of the Italian princes, with Maximilian at their head, he was obliged to abandon his conquests with the same facility he had made them ; and he was fortunate in being able to effect his retreat, by the famous victory which he gained over the allies near Foronnuovo, in the duchy of Parma.

The claim to the duchy of Milan, was founded on the contract of marriage between Louis, Duke of Orleans, the grandfather of Louis XII., and Valentine of Milan. That contract provided, that failing heirs-male of John Galeas, Duke of Milan, the duchy should fall to Valentine, and the children of her marriage with the Duke of Orleans. Louis XII. claimed the rights of Valentine, his grandmother, in opposition to the princes of the family of Sforza, who had taken possession of the duchy of Milan, on the extinction of the male-heirs of the Visconti, which happened in 1447. The different expeditions which he undertook into Italy, both for the conquest of Milan and the kingdom of Naples, met with no better success than that of his predecessor had done ; in consequence of a new League, called the *Holy League*, which Pope Julius II. raised against him, and into which he drew the Emperor Maximilian, the Kings of Arragon and England, with the Venetians and the Swiss. Louis XII. lost all the advantages of his conquests. The kingdom of Naples fell under the power of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the family of Sforza were reinstated in the duchy of Milan.

These Italian wars, which were renewed at different times under the reign of Francis I., cost France much blood and immense sums. In

this struggle she was forced to succumb, and Francis I. bound himself, by the treaty of Crepy, to abandon his claims on Italy in favour of Charles V. The kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan remained incorporated with the Spanish monarchies. Francis I., nevertheless, had the glory of arresting the progress of his rival, and effectually counterbalancing a power which, at that time, made all Europe to tremble.

Henry II., the son and successor of Francis I., adopted a new line of policy. He attacked the House of Austria, in Germany; having entered into a league with Maurice, Elector of Saxony, and the Protestant princes of the Empire, to oppose Charles V. That league, which was ratified at Chambord (1552), procured for Henry II. possession of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun; and he even succeeded in forcing the Emperor to raise the siege of Metz, which that prince had undertaken about the end of the year 1552. A truce of five years was agreed on between these two sovereigns at Vaucelles; but, in the course of a few months, the war was renewed, and Philip II., who had succeeded his father, Charles V., induced his queen, Mary of England, to join in it. Among the events of this war, the most remarkable are the victory of St Quentin, gained by the Spaniards (1557), and the conquest of the city of Calais, by Francis, Duke of Guise; the last possession of the English in France (1558). The death of Queen Mary prepared the way for a peace, which was signed at Chateau-Cambresis (1559), between France, England, and Spain. The Duke of Savoy obtained there the restitution of his

estates, of which Francis I. had deprived him in 1536. Calais remained annexed to France.

A series of wars, both civil and religious, broke out under the feeble reigns of the three sons and successors of Henry II. The great influence of the Guises, and the factions which distracted the court and the state, were the true source of hostilities, though religion was made the pretext. Francis II. having espoused Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, the whole power and authority of the government passed into the hands of Francis, Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal de Lorraine, his brother, who were the queen's maternal uncles. The power which these noblemen enjoyed excited the jealousy of Anthony, King of Navarre, and his brother Louis, Prince of Condé, who imagined that the precedency in this respect was due to them as princes of the blood, in preference to the Lorraine family, who might be considered as strangers in France. The former being Calvinists, and having enlisted all the leaders of that party in their cause, it was not difficult for the Lorraine princes to secure the interest of all the most zealous Catholics.

The first spark that kindled these civil wars, was the conspiracy of Amboise. The intention of the conspirators was to seize the Guises, to bring them to trial, and throw the management of affairs into the hands of the princes of the blood. The conspiracy having been discovered, the prince of Condé, who was suspected of being at its head, was arrested; and he would have been executed, had not the premature death of Francis II. happened in the meantime. The queen-mother, Catherine de Medici, who was intrusted with the

regency during the minority of Charles IX., and desirous of holding the balance between the two parties, set Condé at liberty, and granted the Calvinists the free exercise of their religion, in the suburbs and parts lying out of the towns. This famous edict (January 1562) occasioned the first civil war, the signal of which was the massacre of Vassy in Champagne.

Of these wars, there have been commonly reckoned eight under the family of Valois, viz. four in the reign of Charles IX., and four in that of Henry III. The fourth, under Charles IX., began with the famous massacre of St Bartholomew, authorized and directed by the King (1572).

It is of some importance to notice here the *Edict of Pacification* of Henry III., of the month of May 1576. The new privileges which this edict granted to the Calvinists, encouraged the Guises to concert a league this same year, ostensibly for the maintenance of the Catholic religion, but whose real object was the dethronement of the reigning dynasty, and the elevation of the Guises. The Duke of Alençon, only brother of Henry III., being dead, and the King of Navarre, who professed the Calvinistic faith, having become presumptive heir to the crown, the chiefs of the Catholic League no longer made a secret of their measures. They concluded a formal alliance (1584), with Philip II. of Spain, for excluding the Bourbons from the throne of France. Henry III. was obliged, by the Leaguers, to recommence the war against the Calvinists; but perceiving that the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal his brother, took every occasion to render his government odious, he caused them both to be assassinated at Blois

(1588), and threw himself on the protection of the King of Navarre. In conjunction with that Prince, he undertook the siege of Paris, during which he was himself assassinated at St Cloud, by a Jacobin of the name of James Clement (1589).

The dynasty of Valois ended with Henry III., after having occupied the throne for two hundred and sixty-one years. Under this dynasty the royal authority had gained considerably, both by the annexation of the great fiefs to the crown-lands, and by the introduction of regular armies, which put an end to the feudal power. Louis XI. was chiefly instrumental in bringing the *grandees* under subjection, and putting an end to the cruelties and oppressions of anarchy. If these changes, however, contributed to public order, it is nevertheless true that the national liberty suffered by them; that the royal authority daily received new augmentations; and that, so early as the reign of Louis XII., it was considered as high treason to speak of the necessity of assembling the States-General. The practice of these assemblies, however, was renewed under the successors of that prince; they even became frequent under the last kings of the house of Valois, who convoked them chiefly with the view of demanding supplies. Francis I. augmented his influence over the clergy by the concordat which he concluded with Leo X. (1516), in virtue of which he obtained the nomination to all vacant prelatures; leaving to the Pope the confirmation of the prelates, and the liberty of receiving the annats.

The race of Valois was succeeded by that of the Bourbons, who were descended from Robert Count of Clermont, younger son of St Louis. Henry IV., the first king of this dynasty, was related

in the twenty-first degree to Henry III., his immediate predecessor. That prince, who was a Calvinist, the more easily reduced the party of the League, by publicly abjuring his religion at St Denis. He concluded a peace with the Spaniards, who were allies of the League, at Vervins; and completely tranquillized the kingdom by the famous edict of Nantes, which he published in favour of the reformed religion. By that edict he guaranteed to the Protestants perfect liberty of conscience, and the public exercise of their worship, with the privilege of filling all offices of trust: but he rendered them, at the same time, a piece of disservice, by granting them fortified places, under the name of places of security. By thus fostering a spirit of party and intestine faction, he furnished a plausible pretext to their adversaries for gradually undermining the edict, and finally proscribing the exercise of the reformed religion in France.

That great prince, after having established the tranquillity of his kingdom at home and abroad, encouraged arts and manufactures, and put the administration of his finances into admirable order, was assassinated by Ravallac (1610), at the very moment when he was employed in executing the grand scheme which he had projected for the pacification of Europe. Cardinal Richelieu, when he assumed the reins of government under Louis XIII., had nothing so much at heart as the expulsion of the Calvinists from their strongholds. This he accomplished by means of the three wars which he waged against them, and by the famous siege of Rochelle, which he reduced in 1628. That great statesman next employed his policy against the house of Austria,

whose preponderance gave umbrage to all Europe. He took the opportunity of the vacant succession of Mantua to espouse the cause of the Duke of Nevers against the Courts of Vienna and Madrid, who supported the Duke of Guastalla; and maintained his protégé in the duchy of Mantua, by the treaties of peace which were concluded at Ratisbon and Querasque (1631.) Having afterwards joined Sweden, he made war against the two branches of Austria, and on this occasion got possession of the places which the Swedes had seized in Alsace.

Louis XIV. was only four years and seven months old when he succeeded his father (1643). The queen-mother, Anne of Austria, assumed the regency. She appointed Cardinal Mazarin her prime minister, whose administration, during the minority of the King, was a scene of turbulence and distraction. The same external policy which had directed the ministry of Richelieu, was followed by his successor. He prosecuted the war against Austria with vigour, in conjunction with Sweden, and their confederates in Germany. By the peace which was concluded with the Emperor at Munster, besides the three bishoprics of Lorraine, France obtained the Landgraviate of Lower and Upper Alsace, Sungaw, and the prefecture of the ten Imperial cities of Alsace. Spain was excluded from this treaty; and the war continued between that kingdom and France until the peace of the Pyrenees, by which the counties of Roussillon and Conflans were ceded to France, as well as several cities in Flanders, Hainault, and Luxembourg.

Spain, which had long been divided into several

States, and a stranger as it were to the rest of Europe, became all of a sudden a formidable power, turning the political balance in her own favour. This elevation was the work of Ferdinand the Catholic, a prince born for great exploits ; of a profound and fertile genius ; but tarnishing his bright qualities by perfidy and unbounded ambition. He was heir to the throne of Arragon, and laid the foundation of his greatness by his marriage with Isabella (1469), sister to Henry VI. last King of Castille. That match united the kingdoms of Castille and Arragon, which were the two principal Christian States in Spain. Henry of Castille had left a daughter, named Jane, but she being considered as illegitimate by the Castillians, the throne was conferred on Isabella and her husband Ferdinand (1474). The Infanta Jane, in order to enforce her claims, betrothed herself to Alphonso V. King of Portugal ; but that prince being defeated by Ferdinand at the battle of Toro (1476), was obliged to renounce Castille and his marriage with the Infanta.

At the accession of Isabella to the throne of Castille, that kingdom was a prey to all the miseries of anarchy. The abuses of the feudal system were there maintained by violence and injustice. Ferdinand demolished the fortresses of the nobles who infested the country ; he gave new vigour to the laws ; liberated the people from the oppression of the great ; and, under pretence of extirpating the Jews and Mahometans, he established the tribunal of the Inquisition (1478), which spread universal terror by its unheard of cruelties. Torquemada, a Dominican, who was appointed grand Inquisitor (1483), burnt in the space of four years near 6000 individuals.

The Moors still retained the kingdom of Gre-

nada. Ferdinand took advantage of their dissensions to attempt the conquest of it, in which he succeeded, after a vigorous war of eighteen years. Abo Abdeli, the last King of Grenada, fled to Africa. An edict, which was published immediately after, ordered the expulsion of all the Jews; about an hundred thousand of whom fled from Spain, and took shelter, some in Portugal, and others in Africa. Ferdinand did not include the Moors in this proscription, whom he thought to gain over to Christianity by means of persecution; but having revolted in the year 1500, he then allowed them to emigrate. It was this blind and headlong zeal that procured Ferdinand the title of the *Catholic King*, which Pope Alexander III. conferred on him and his successors (1493). That prince also augmented his power by annexing to his crown the Grand Mastership of the Military Orders of Calatrava, Alcantara, and St James of Campostella.

Every thing conspired to aggrandize Ferdinand; and as if the Old World had not been sufficient, a New one was opened up to him by the discovery of America. He was heir, by the father's side, to the kingdoms of Arragon, Sicily, and Sardinia. He got possession of Castille by his marriage, and of Grenada by force of arms; so that nothing was wanting except Navarre to unite all Spain under his dominion. The Holy League, which Pope Julius II. had organized against Louis XII. (1511), furnished him with a pretext for seizing that kingdom. Entering into an alliance with the Pope, he concerted with the King of England to invade Guienne, on which the English had some ancient claims. They demanded of the King of Navarre

that he should make common cause with the allies of the Holy League against Louis XII. That prince, however, wishing to preserve neutrality, they prescribed conditions so severe, that he had no other alternative left than to seek protection in France. Ferdinand then obtained possession of all that part of Navarre which lay beyond the Pyrenees. Twelve years before that time Ferdinand had, by the treaty of Grenada, planned with Louis XII. the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. Frederic of Arragon was then deprived of that kingdom, and his States were divided between the two allied kings; but Ferdinand having soon quarrelled with Louis XII. as to their respective boundaries, this was made a pretext for expelling the French from Naples, which was again united to the Spanish monarchy, in the years 1503 and 1505.

Charles I. of Austria, grandson of Ferdinand, and his successor in the Spanish monarchy, added to that crown the Low Countries and Frenche-Comté, which he inherited in right of his father Philip of Austria, and his grandmother Mary of Burgundy. He added likewise the kingdoms of Mexico and Peru, on the continent of America, and the duchy of Milan in Italy, in which he invested his son Philip, after having repeatedly expelled the French in the years 1522 and 1525.

These were all the advantages he derived from his wars against Francis I., which occupied the greater part of his reign. Blinded by his animosity against that Prince, and by his ruling passion for war, he only exhausted his kingdom, and impaired his true greatness. Charles resigned the Spanish monarchy to his son Philip II., which then com-

prehended the Low Countries, the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily and Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish possessions in America. The peace of Chateau Cambresis, which Philip II. signed in 1559, after a long war against France, may be regarded as the era of Spanish greatness. To the states which were left him by his father, Philip added the kingdom of Portugal, with the Portuguese possessions in Africa, Asia and America; but this was the termination of his prosperity. His reign after that was only a succession of misfortunes. His revolting despotism excited the Belgians to insurrection, and gave birth to the republic of the United Provinces. Elizabeth of England having joined with the Confederates of the Low Countries, Philip, out of revenge, equipped a formidable fleet, known by the name of the *Invincible Armada*, which was composed of 130 vessels of enormous size, manned with 20,000 soldiers, exclusive of sailors, and armed with 1360 pieces of cannon. On entering the Channel they were defeated by the English (21st of July 1588), and the greater part of them destroyed by a storm.

From this calamity may be dated the decline of the Spanish monarchy, which was exhausted by its expensive wars. Philip, at his death, left an enormous debt, and the whole glory of the Spanish nation perished with him. The reigns of his feeble successors are only remarkable for their disasters. Philip III. did irreparable injury to his crown by the expulsion of the Moors or Morescoes (1610), which lost Spain nearly a million of her industrious subjects. Nothing can equal the misfortunes which she experienced under the reign of Philip IV. During

the war which he had to support against France, the Catalans revolted, and put themselves under the protection of that Crown (1640). Encouraged by their example, the Portuguese likewise shook off the yoke, and replaced the House of Braganza on their throne. Lastly, the Neapolitans, harassed by the Duke d'Olivarez, prime minister of Philip IV. revolted, and attempted to form themselves into a republic (1647). These reverses on the part of Spain added to the number of her enemies. The famous Cromwell having entered into an alliance with France (1655),¹ dispossessed the Spaniards of Jamaica, one of their richest settlements in America.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Portugal had reached a high pitch of elevation, which she owed to the astonishing progress of her navigation and her commerce. John II., whose fleets first doubled the Cape of Good Hope, augmented the royal authority, by humbling the exorbitant and tyrannical power of the grandees. In the diet which was assembled at Evora, he retracted the concessions which his predecessors had made to the nobles, to the prejudice of the Crown. He abolished the power of life and death, which the lords exercised over their vassals, and subjected their towns and their territories to the jurisdiction of officers appointed by the King. The nobles, who were displeased at these innovations, having combined in defence of their privileges, and chosen the Duke of Braganza for their leader, John, without being disconcerted by this opposition, had the Duke brought to a trial, and his head cut off, while his brother was hanged in effigy. This example of severity intimidated the grandees, and made them submit to his authority. The most

brilliant era of Portugal was that of Emanuel and John III., who reigned between the years 1495 and 1557. It was under these two Princes that the Portuguese formed their powerful empire in India, of which nothing now remains but the ruins.

The glory of Portugal suffered an eclipse under the feeble reign of Sebastian, grandson and immediate successor of John. That Prince, who came to the throne at the age of three years, had been brought up by the Jesuits, who, instead of instructing him in the important arts of government, had given him the education of a monk. They had inspired him with a dislike for matrimony, but with a decided attachment for the crusades. Muley Mahomet, King of Morocco, having requested his assistance against his uncle Moluc, who had dethroned him, Sebastian undertook an expedition into Africa in person, carrying with him the flower of his nobility. A bloody battle was fought near Alcaçar, in the kingdom of Fez (1578), where the Portuguese sustained a complete defeat. Sebastian was slain; and, what is sufficiently remarkable, his enemy Moluc died a natural death during the action, while Muley Mahomet was drowned in the flight.

[During the reign of this king, every thing had fallen into decay; even the character of the nation had begun to degenerate. The spirit of chivalry which had distinguished them, was exchanged for mercantile adventures, which even infected the higher classes; while avarice, luxury, and effeminacy, brought on a universal corruption. The governors of their colonies indulged in all sorts of violence and injustice. They seized the more lucrative branches of commerce. The military force, which Emanuel and John III. had kept up in India, was neglected.

The clergy usurped the whole wealth of the colonies, and exercised an absolute power by means of the Inquisition, which was no where more terrible than at Goa.]

As Sebastian had never been married, the throne passed at his death to Henry the Cardinal, his grand uncle by the father's side, who was already far advanced in life. Perceiving his end approach, and that his death would involve the kingdom in confusion, he summoned an assembly of the States at Lisbon (1579), in order to fix the succession. The States appointed eleven commissioners, who were to investigate the claims of the different candidates for the crown. Philip II. of Spain, who was one of this number, did not pay the least regard to the decision of the States. No sooner had he learned the death of Henry (1580), than he sent the Duke of Alva, at the head of an army, to take possession of Portugal. The Duke defeated the troops of his opponent, Anthony prior of Crato, one of the claimants, who had proclaimed himself king; pretending that he was the legitimate son of the Infant Don Louis, son of Emanuel. Anthony had no other alternative left than to take shelter in France, and the whole of Portugal yielded to the yoke of the Spaniards.

An inveterate antipathy, however, subsisted between the two nations, which made the Portuguese detest their Spanish masters. This hatred was still more increased, on account of the losses which the Portuguese sustained, in the mean time, in their commerce and possessions in the East Indies. The lucrative traffic which the Confederates in the Low Countries, called the *Dutch*, carried on by importing the merchandise of the East from Portugal, and hawking them over the north of Europe,

having enabled them to support the war against Spain, Philip II. thought to strike a fatal blow at their prosperity, by forbidding them all commerce with Portugal. That Prince, however, was deceived in his expectation. The Confederates, deprived of this lucrative branch of their industry, and after having made some unsuccessful attempts to find a north-west passage to India, took the resolution of sailing directly thither (1595), under the conduct of Cornelius Houtman and Molinaar, in order to seek, at the fountainhead, those commodities which were refused them in Portugal. No sooner had they attempted to form settlements in India than the Portuguese determined to prevent them, and fought with them, near Bantam, a town in Java, a naval battle, which ended in favour of the Confederates.

Encouraged by this first success, the Dutch undertook to deprive the Portuguese of their principal possessions in India. The conquest which they made of the Moluccas, procured them the spice trade. They likewise formed settlements in the island of Java, where they founded the city of Batavia, which became the capital and emporium of their settlements in India. At length Goa and Diu were the only places that remained to the Portuguese of their numerous possessions in India. These important losses greatly exasperated the Portuguese against the Spaniards. What added still more to their resentment was, that in the court of Madrid they saw a premeditated design to make vassals of the Portuguese; and to cut off the most likely means of enabling them, sooner or later, to recover their ancient independence. It was with this view that their army and their marine were disorganized, their crown

revenues dissipated, their nobility precluded from the management of affairs, and the nation exhausted by exorbitant assessments.

The revolt of the Catalans, which happened in 1640, at length determined the Portuguese to shake off the Spanish yoke. A conspiracy was entered into by some of the grandees, in concert with the Duke of Braganza, which broke out on the 1st December that same year. On that day, at eight o'clock in the morning, the conspirators, to the number of about four hundred, repaired by different routes to the palace of Lisbon, where the vice-queen, Margaret of Savoy, and dowager of Mantua, resided, with Vasconcellos the Secretary of State, who exercised the functions of Prime Minister of the kingdom. Part of them disarmed the guard of the palace, while others seized Vasconcellos, who was the only victim that fell a sacrifice to the public vengeance. They secured the person of the vice-queen, and took measures to protect her from insult or violence. The conspirators then proclaimed the Duke of Braganza King, under the title of John IV. That prince arrived at Lisbon on the 6th of December, and his inauguration took place on the 15th. It is not a little surprising that this revolution became general in eight days time, and that it was not confined merely to Portugal, but extended even to India and Africa. Everywhere the Portuguese expelled the Spaniards, and proclaimed the Duke of Braganza. The city of Ceuta in Africa, was the only town which the Spaniards found means to retain possession of.

John IV. was descended in a direct line from Alphonso, natural son of John the Bastard, who

was created Duke of Braganza. The first care of this new King of Portugal, on his accession to the throne, was to convene an assembly of the States at Lisbon, in order to make them acknowledge his right to the crown. The States, conformably to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, declared that Catherine, daughter of the infant Don Edward, and grandmother of King John, having become the true and legitimate heiress to the throne on the death of Henry the Cardinal, her grandson John IV. was entitled to the repossession of those rights of which that princess had been unjustly deprived by the Spaniards. The better to establish himself on the throne, John concluded treaties of peace with France, the United Provinces, the Netherlands, and Sweden; but confining his whole ambition to the maintaining the ancient limits of the kingdom, he remained completely inactive with regard to Spain, which, being overpowered by numerous enemies, was quite incapable of carrying on the war with vigour against Portugal. The truce and alliance which that Prince had entered into with the Dutch, did not prevent these republicans from continuing their conquests in India; where, in process of time, they stript the Portuguese of their finest settlements.

England, long before this time, had emerged from the state of turbulence and desolation into which she had been plunged by the destructive wars of the two Roses. A new family, that of the Tudors, had mounted the throne; Henry VII. who was its founder, claimed the crown in right of his mother Margaret Beaufort, alleged heiress of the house of Lancaster, or the Red Rose; and raised an insurrection against Richard III. the last

King of the House of York. This prince being defeated and slain at the battle of Bosworth (1485), Henry, who was then proclaimed King of England, united the titles or claims of the two Roses, by his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., and heiress of York, or the White Rose. The country being thus restored to tranquillity after thirty years of civil war, every thing assumed a more prosperous appearance. Agriculture and commerce began to flourish anew. Henry applied himself to the restoration of order and industry. He humbled the factious nobles, and raised the royal authority almost to a state of absolute despotism.

The reformation of religion in England began in the reign of his son Henry VIII. That Prince, who was of a very capricious character, vacillating continually between virtue and vice, appeared at first as the champion of Popery, and published a treatise against Luther, which procured him, from the Court of Rome, the title of *Defender of the Faith*. But a violent passion, which he had conceived for Anne Boleyn, having induced him to attempt a divorce from Catherine of Arragon, daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic, he addressed himself for this purpose to Pope Clement VII., alleging certain scruples of conscience which he felt on account of his marriage with Catherine, who was within the degrees of affinity, prohibited in the sacred Scriptures. The Pope being afraid to displease the Emperor Charles V., who was the nephew of Catherine, thought proper to defer judgment in this matter; but the King, impatient of delay, caused his divorce to be pronounced by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury (1532), and immediately married Anne Boleyn.

The sentence of the Archbishop was annulled by the Pope, who published a threatening bull against Henry. This incensed the King, who caused the Papal authority in England to be abrogated by the Parliament, and installed himself in the capacity of supreme head of the English Church (1534); a title which was conferred on him by the clergy, and confirmed by the Parliament. He also introduced the oath of supremacy, in virtue of which all who were employed in offices of trust, were obliged to acknowledge him as head of the Church. A court of High Commission was established, to judge ecclesiastical causes in name of the king, and from whose sentence there was no appeal. The convents or monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues confiscated to the crown (1536–1539). Henry even became a dogmatist in theology; and discarding the principles of Luther, as well as those of Calvin and Rome, he framed a religion according to his own fancy. Rejecting the worship of images, relics, purgatory, monastic vows, and the supremacy of the Pope, he gave his sanction, by the law of the Six Articles, to the doctrine of the real presence, the communion in one kind, the vow of chastity, the celibacy of the priests, the mass, and auricular confession; inflicting very severe penalties on all who should deny or disobey one or other of these articles.

This monarch, who was the first of the English kings that took the title of King of Ireland (1542), was involved in the disputes which then embroiled the Continental powers; but instead of holding the balance between France and Austria, he adhered in general to his friend and ally Charles V. against

France.' This conduct was regulated less by politics than by passion, and the personal interest of his minister Cardinal Wolsey, whom the Emperor had attached to his cause, by the hope of the papal tiara.

The religion which Henry had planted in England, did not continue after his death. Edward VI., his son and immediate successor, introduced pure Calvinism or Presbyterianism. Mary, daughter of Henry VIII., by Catherine of Arragon, on her accession to the throne, restored the Catholic religion (1553), and likewise received the new legate of the Pope into England. She inflicted great cruelties on the Protestants, many of whom were burnt at the stake; among others, Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and Worcester. With the view of more firmly establishing the Catholic religion in her dominions, she espoused Philip, presumptive heir to the Spanish monarchy (1554). The restrictions with which the English Parliament fettered his contract of marriage with the Queen, so displeased that prince, that, finding himself without power or authority, he speedily withdrew from England. Mary's reign lasted only five years: she was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth (1558), daughter of Henry VIII., by Anne Boleyn. This princess once more abrogated the authority of the Pope, and claimed to herself the supreme administration, both spiritual and temporal, within her kingdom. Though she adopted the Calvinistic principles in every thing regarding the doctrines of the Church, she retained many of the Romish ceremonies, and the government of Bishops. It was this that gave rise to the dis-

inction between the *English* or, *High Church*, and the *Calvinistic* or *Presbyterian*.

About the time when the High Church party rose in England, a change of religion took place in Scotland, protected by Queen Elizabeth. The regency of that kingdom was then vested in the Queen-dowager, Mary of Lorraine, the widow of James V., and mother of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland and France. That princess, who was guided solely by the councils of her brothers of Lorraine, had introduced a body of French troops to repress the followers of the new doctrines, who had formed a new league, under the name of the *Congregation*. These, reinforced by the Catholic malecontents, who were apprehensive of falling under a foreign yoke, took the resolution of applying for assistance to the English Queen, which it was by no means difficult to obtain. Elizabeth readily foresaw, that so soon as Francis became master of Scotland, he would attempt to enforce Mary's claims to the throne of England, grounded partly on the assumption of her being illegitimate. A considerable number of English troops were then marched to Scotland, and having formed a junction with the Scottish malecontents, they besieged the French in the town of Leith, near Edinburgh. The latter were soon obliged to capitulate. By the articles signed at Leith (1560), the French and English troops were to evacuate Scotland; Francis II. King of France, and his wife Mary Stuart, were to renounce the titles and arms of the sovereigns of England, which they had assumed; while a Parliament was to be assembled at Edinburgh for the pacification of the kingdom.

The parliament which met soon after, ratified

the Confession of Faith, drawn up and presented by the Presbyterian ministers. The Presbyterian worship was introduced into Scotland; and the parliament even went so far as to prohibit the exercise of the Catholic religion. Mary Stuart, on her return to Scotland (1561), after the death of her husband Francis, was obliged to acquiesce in all these changes; and it was with difficulty she was allowed the liberty of having a Catholic chapel attached to her court. This unfortunate princess was afterwards accused of having caused the assassination of Henry Darnley, her second husband; and being obliged to fly the country, she took shelter in England (1568), where she was arrested and imprisoned by order of Queen Elizabeth. After a captivity of nineteen years she was sentenced to death, and beheaded (18. Feb. 1587), as an accomplice in the different plots which had been formed against the life of her royal relative.

The troubles which the reformation of religion had excited in Scotland, extended also to Ireland. A kind of corrupt feudal system had prevailed originally in that island, which Henry II. had not been able to extirpate. The English proprietors, who were vassals of the crown, and governed by the laws of England, possessed nearly one-third of the whole country; while the rest of the island was in the hands of the Irish proprietors, who, although they acknowledged the sovereignty of the English kings, preserved nevertheless the language and manners of their native land; and were inclined to seize every opportunity of shaking off the English yoke, which they detested. Hence, a continued series of wars and feuds, both among the Irish themselves, and against the English, who

on their part had no other object than to extend their possessions at the expense of the natives. The kings of England, guided by an injudicious policy, for several centuries exhausted their resources in perpetual wars, sometimes against France, sometimes against Scotland, and sometimes against their own subjects, without paying the least attention to Ireland, of which they appear to have known neither the importance nor the effectual advantages which they might have reaped from it by means of a wise administration. The progress of agriculture and industry became thus completely impracticable; a deep-rooted hatred was established between the islanders and the English, who in fact seemed two distinct nations, enemies of each other, and forming no alliances either by marriage or reciprocal intercourse.

The resentment of the Irish against the English government was aggravated still more, at the time of the Reformation, by the vigorous measures that were taken, subsequently to the reign of Henry VIII., to extend to Ireland the laws framed in England against the court of Rome and the Catholic clergy. A general insurrection broke out in the reign of Elizabeth (1596), the chief instigator of which was Hugh O'Neal, head of a clan in the province of Ulster, and Earl of Tyrone. Having gained over the whole Irish Catholics to his cause, he planned an extensive conspiracy, with the design of effecting the entire expulsion of the English from the island. Philip II., King of Spain, supplied the insurgents with troops and ammunition; and Pope Clement VIII. held out ample indulgences in favour of those who should enlist under

the banners of O'Neal, to combat the English heretics. This insurgent chief met at first with considerable success ; he defeated the English in a pitched battle, and maintained his ground against the Earl of Essex, whom Elizabeth had despatched to the island with a formidable army. The rebels, however, ultimately failed in their enterprise, after a sanguinary war which lasted seven years. Charles, Lord Mountjoy, governor of Ireland, drove the insurgents to their last recesses, and had the glory of achieving the entire reduction of the island.⁹

The maritime greatness of England began in the reign of Elizabeth. That Princess gave new vigour to industry and commerce ; and her efforts were seconded by the persecuting zeal of the French and Spanish governments. The numerous refugees from France and the Netherlands, found a ready asylum in England, under the protection of Elizabeth ; and her kingdom became, as it were, the retreat and principal residence of their arts and manufactures. She encouraged and protected navigation, which the English, by degrees, extended to all parts of the globe. An Englishman, named Richard Chancellor, having discovered the route to Archangel in the Icy Sea (1555), the Czar, John Basilowitz II., granted to an English company the exclusive privilege of trading with Russia (1569). The commerce of the English with Turkey and the Levant, which began in 1579, was likewise monopolized by a Company of merchants. Francis Drake, a distinguished navigator, and the rival of Megellan, was the first Englishman that performed a voyage round the world, between 1577 and 1580. The intercourse between England and the

East Indies, began in 1591; and the **East India Company** was instituted in 1600. Attempts were also made, about the same time, to form settlements in North America; and Walter Raleigh, who had obtained a charter from the Queen (1584), endeavoured to found a colony in that part of the American Continent, now called Virginia in compliment to Elizabeth. That colony, however, did not, properly speaking, take root or flourish till the reign of James I. The competition with Spain, and the destruction of the Invincible Armada of Philip II., by the combined fleets of England and Holland, gave a new energy to the English marine, the value of which they had learned to appreciate, not merely in guarding the independence of the kingdom, but in securing the prosperity of their commerce and navigation.

The House of Tudor ended in Queen Elizabeth (1603), after having occupied the throne of England about a hundred and eighteen years. It was replaced by that of the Stuarts. James VI., King of Scotland, son of Mary Stuart, and Henry Darnley, succeeded to the throne of England, and took the title of King of Great Britain, which his successors still retain. This prince derived his right to the crown, from the marriage of his great grandmother, Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII., with James IV. of Scotland. Vain of his new elevation, and fond of prerogative, James constantly occupied himself with projects for augmenting his royal power and authority in England; and by instilling these principles into his son, he became the true architect of all the subsequent misfortunes of his house.

Charles I., the son and successor of James, sel-

dom convened the Parliament ; and when they did assemble, he provoked them by the measures he proposed, and was then obliged to dissolve them. Being entirely guided by his ministers Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earls of Strafford and Hamilton, and his Queen, Henrietta of France, he ventured to levy taxes and impositions without the advice of Parliament. This conduct on the part of the King produced a general discontent. The flames of civil war began to kindle in Scotland, where Charles had introduced Episcopacy, as more favourable than Presbyterianism to royalty. But the Scottish nobility, having formed a confederacy, known by the name of the *Covenant*, for the maintenance of their ecclesiastical liberties, abolished Episcopacy (1638), and subsequently took up arms against the King. The Parliament of England, under such circumstances, rose also against Charles (1641), and passed an act that they should not be dissolved without previously obtaining redress for the complaints of the nation. This act, which deprived the King of his principal prerogative, proved fatal to the royal dignity. A trial was instituted by the Parliament against the King's ministers. The Earl of Strafford and the Archbishop of Canterbury were beheaded ; and Charles had the weakness to sign the death-warrant of his faithful servants.

The Presbyterians soon became the prevailing party, and excluded the Bishops from the Upper House. The management of affairs fell then into the hands of the House of Commons ; Episcopacy was abolished ; and the Parliament of England acceded to the Scottish Covenant. War now broke out between the King and the Parliament ;

a battle was fought near York, in which the latter was victorious (1644). Charles, seeing his affairs ruined, took the determination to throw himself into the arms of the Scots (1646), who, he supposed, might still retain an affection for the race of their ancient Kings. He soon found reason, however, to repent of this step; the Scots did not hesitate to sell him to the English Parliament for a sum of 400,000*l.* Sterling, which they found necessary for the payment of their troops.

A new revolution, which soon after happened in the Parliament, completed the ruin of the King. The Presbyterians, or Puritans, who had suppressed the Episcopalians, were crushed, in their turn, by the Independents. These latter were a sort of fanatics, who admitted no subordination whatever in the Church, entertained a perfect horror for royalty, and were inclined for a republican or democratic form of government. The head and soul of this faction was the famous Oliver Cromwell, who, with great dexterity, made it an engine for raising himself to the sovereign authority. The whole power of the Legislature fell entirely into the hands of the Independent party; who, by one act, expelled sixty members from the House of Commons. The Parliament, now completely under their dominion, appointed a commission of a hundred and fifty persons, whom they vested with power to try the King. In vain did the Upper House oppose this resolution; in vain did the King object to the Judges named by the House; the commission proceeded, and pronounced the famous sentence, by virtue of which Charles was beheaded on the 30th of January 1649. His

family were dispersed, and saved themselves by flight.

The revolutions in the North of Europe, about the period of which we now speak, were not less important than those which agitated the West and the South. These arose chiefly from the dissolution of the Union of Calmar, and the reformation in religion; both of which happened about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Union of Calmar, between the three kingdoms of the North, had been renewed several times; but, being badly cemented from the first, it was at length irreparably broken by Sweden. This latter kingdom had been distracted by intestine feuds, occasioned by the ambition and jealousy of the nobles, which continued during the whole reign of Charles VIII., of the House of Bonde. After the death of that Prince (1470), the Swedes, without renouncing the Union, had regularly appointed as administrators of the kingdom, from the year 1471 till 1520, three individuals of the family of Sture, viz. Steno Sture, called the *Old*, Suante Sture and Steno Sture, called the *Young*.

Meantime, John, King of Denmark, and son of Christian I., had governed the three kingdoms since 1497, when Steno Sture the elder had resigned, until 1501, when he resumed the administration. At length, however, Christian II., son of John, made war on Steno Sture, surnamed the *Young*, with a view to enforce the claims which he derived from the act of union. Being victorious at the battle of Bogesund, where Sture lost his life, he succeeded in making himself acknowledged by the Swedes as king, and was crowned at Stockholm (1520). Within a short time after this ceremony,

he violated the amnesty which he had publicly announced; and to gratify the revenge of Gustavus Trolle, Archbishop of Upeal, whom the Swedes had deposed, he caused ninety-four of the most distinguished personages in the kingdom to be arrested, and publicly beheaded at Stockholm.

This massacre caused a revolution, by which Sweden recovered its ancient state of independence. Gustavus Vasa put himself at the head of the Dalecarlians, ambitious to become the liberator of his country (1521). He was declared Regent, and two years after, King of Sweden. The example of the Swedes was soon followed by the Danes, who, indignant at the excesses and cruelties of Christian II., deposed him, and conferred their crown on Frederic, Duke of Holstein, and paternal uncle to that prince. Christian, after having long wandered about the Low Countries, was made prisoner by the Danes, and remained in captivity the rest of his days. The Kings of Denmark having renewed, from time to time, their pretensions to the Swedish throne, and still continued the three crowns on their escutcheon, several wars broke out on this subject between the two nations; and it was not till the peace of Stettin (1570), that the Danes acknowledged the entire independence of Sweden.

Denmark then lost the ascendancy which she had so long maintained in the North. The government of the kingdom underwent a radical change. A corrupt aristocracy rose on the ruins of the national liberty. The senate, composed wholly of the nobles, usurped all authority; they overruled the election of the kings, and appropriated to themselves the powers of the States-general, which

they had not convoked since 1536; they encroached even on the royal authority, which was curtailed more and more every day; while the prerogatives of the nobility were extended by the conditions which the Senate prescribed to the kings on their accession to the crown. The reformation of religion took place in Denmark, in the reign of Frederic I., the successor of Christian II. That prince employed an eloquent preacher, named John Tausen, and several other disciples of Luther, to promulgate the Protestant doctrines in his kingdom. In a diet held at Odensee (1527), the King made a public profession of the new faith; and, in spite of the remonstrances of the bishops, he passed a decree, in virtue of which, liberty of conscience was established, and permission granted to the priests and monks to marry. These articles were renewed in another diet, assembled at Copenhagen (1530); where the King ratified the Confession of Faith presented to him by the Protestant ministers, similar to what had taken place the same year at the diet of Augsburg.

At length Christian III. who was elected in 1534, brought these changes in religion to a close. The bishops, during the last interregnum, had done every thing to stop the progress of the Reformation. The King, desirous of annihilating their temporal power, colluded with the principal nobility to have all the bishops in the kingdom arrested; and having then assembled a meeting of the States at Copenhagen, he abolished Episcopacy, and suppressed the public exercise of the Catholic religion. The castles, fortresses, and vast domains of the prelates were annexed to the crown; and the other benefices and revenues of the clergy

were appropriated to the support of the ministers of religion, public schools, and the poor. The monks and nuns were left at liberty, either to quit their convents, or remain there during their lives. The bishops were replaced by superintendants, the nomination of whom was vested in the King; while each congregation retained the privilege of choosing its own pastors. From Denmark this revolution passed to Norway, which at that time, on account of having joined the party of Christian II., who was deposed by the Danes, lost its independence, and was declared a province of the kingdom of Denmark.

The House of Oldenburg, which had occupied the throne of Denmark since 1448, was separated in the reign of Christian III. into two powerful branches, viz. the Royal, descended from that prince; and the family of Holstein-Gottorp, descended from his brother the Duke Adolphus. This latter branch was afterwards divided into three others, viz. those of Russia, Sweden and Holstein-Oldenburg. As the law of primogeniture was not established in the duchies of Sleswick and Holstein, which had fallen into the succession of the House of Oldenburg, the Kings of Denmark soon found themselves under the necessity of dividing these duchies among the younger princes of their family. The treaty of partition, which was entered into (1544) between Christian III. and his brother, had been preceded by a treaty of perpetual union, annexing these duchies to the kingdom, and intended to preserve the throne, which was elective, in the House of Oldenburg; as well as to prevent any portion of these two duchies from falling into

the possession of strangers. The union was to endure as long as the descendants of Frederic I. reigned in Denmark. They promised to settle, by arbitration, whatever differences might arise between the states of the union ; to afford each other mutual succour against every external enemy ; and to undertake no war but by common consent.

The treaty of 1544 which regulated this partition, made several exceptions of matters that were to be managed and administered in common ; such as, the customs, jurisdiction over the nobles, the bishops, and certain cities. This gave rise to a sort of copartnership of power, common to all the princes of the union. Every thing regarding either the general safety as stipulated in the treaty, or the exercise of these privileges included in the exceptions, was to be discussed and settled by unanimous consent ; and for this purpose a council of regency, an exchequer, and common courts were established. This union and community of rights were followed, as a natural consequence, by long and destructive feuds between the Kings of Denmark and the Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp, in which the other powers of the North were also implicated.

Christian IV., grandson of Christian III., was distinguished not more by the superiority of his talents, than by the indefatigable zeal with which he applied himself to every department of the administration. It was in his reign that the Danes extended their commerce as far as India. He founded the first Danish East India Company (1616), who formed a settlement in Tranquebar on the Coromandel coast, which had been ceded to them by the Rajah of Tanjore. •Various manufactories of

silk stuffs, paper, and arms, were constructed, and, several towns built under the auspices of Christian IV. The sciences were also much indebted to him; he gave a new lustre to the University of Copenhagen, and founded the Academy of Soroe in Zealand, besides a number of colleges. If he was unsuccessful in his wars against Sweden and Austria, it must be ascribed to the narrow limits of his power, to the influence of the aristocratic spirit, and of the feudal regime which still prevailed in Denmark. He succeeded, however, in excluding the Swedes from access to the Icy Sea, which opened them a way to the coasts of Lapland, by obtaining possession, at the peace of Siorod (1613), of that part of Lapland which extends along the Northern and Icy Seas, from Titisfiord to Waranger and Wardhuys. The disputes concerning the three crowns was settled by the same treaty, in such a way that both sovereigns were permitted to use them, without authorizing the King of Denmark to lay any claim to the Swedish crown.

Sweden, which had long maintained a struggle against Denmark, at length acquired such a preponderance over her as to threaten, more than once, the entire subversion of the throne. This preponderance was the achievement of two great men, who rose in the period we now speak of, viz. Gustavus Vasa, and his grandson Gustavus Adolphus. Gustavus Vasa was not merely the liberator, but the restorer of his country. Elevated to the throne by the free choice of the nation, he gave Sweden a power and influence which it never had before. Every thing under him assumed a new aspect, the government, the religion, the finances,

the commerce, the agriculture, the sciences and the morals of the Swedes. Instead of the assemblies of the nobles, formerly in use, and destructive of the national liberty, he substituted Diets composed of the different orders of the State, the nobility, the clergy, the citizens, and the peasantry. By this means he acquired a new influence, of which he took advantage to humble the power of the church and the nobles, which had long been a source of oppression to Sweden.

The reformation of religion, which then occupied every mind, appeared to Gustavus a very proper expedient to second his views, and introduce a better order of things. On his accession to the throne, he authorized the two brothers Olaus and Laurentius Petri, to preach publicly at Stockholm the doctrines of Luther, and did every thing in his power to accelerate the progress of the Reformation in his kingdom. The bishops, who were apprehensive for their benefices and their authority, having drawn the greater part of the nobility over to their interest, the king, in the presence of a Diet of the four orders assembled at Westeras, took the determination of formally abdicating the crown. This step threw the Diet into a state of consternation, and encouraged the two lower orders, the citizens and peasants, to declare themselves loudly for the King. The bishops and nobles were obliged to comply ; and the King, resuming the reins of government, succeeded in overruling the deliberations of the Diet. By the authority of a decree, he annexed the strong castles of the bishops to the demesnes of the crown, and retrenched from their vast possessions whatever he judged convenient. The prelates at the same time

were excluded from the senate; the ties that bound them to the Court of Rome were broken; and they were enjoined henceforth to demand confirmation from the King, and not from the Pope. The revenues of the clergy in general, and those of the convents, were left at the free disposal of the king, and the nobles were permitted to bring forward whatever claims they could adduce over lands granted to these convents by their ancestors. There was nothing now to retard the march of reformation. The Lutheran religion was introduced universally into Sweden, and that event contributed not a little to exalt the royal authority.

Gustavus secured the hereditary succession of the crown in favour of his male descendants. The States, anxious to obviate the troubles and disorders which the demise of their kings had often produced, regulated the succession by an act known by the name of the *Hereditary Union*. It was passed at Orebro (1540), and ratified anew by the States assembled at Westeras. The Union Act was renewed at the Diet of Nordkoping, in the reign of Charles IX. (1604), when the succession was extended to females.

The reign of Gustavus Adolphus, the son of Charles IX., forms the brightest gem in the glory of Sweden. The virtues and energies of that prince, the sagacity of his views, the admirable order which he introduced into every branch of the administration, endeared him to his subjects; while his military exploits, and his superiority in the art of war, fixed upon him the admiration of all Europe.

Gustavus brought the wars, which he had to

sustain against the different powers of the North, to a most triumphant conclusion. By the peace which he concluded at Stolbova with Russia (1617), he obtained possession of all Ingria, Kexholm, and Russian Carelia; and even cut that Empire off from all communication with Europe by the Gulf of Finland and the Baltic Sea. His success was not less brilliant in his campaigns against Sigismund III., King of Poland, who persisted in contesting with him his right to the crown of Sweden. He took from the Poles the whole of Livonia, with a part of Prussia; and kept possession of these conquests by the six years truce which he concluded with the latter at Altmark (1629).

It was about this time that Sweden began to occupy a distinguished place among the powers of Europe; and that she was called on to take the lead in the League which was to protect the Princes and States of the Empire against the ambition of Austria. Gustavus, who was in alliance with France, undertook a task as difficult as it was glorious. In the short space of two years and a half, he overran two-thirds of Germany with his victorious arms. He vanquished Tilly at the famous battle of Leipsic (1631), and extended his conquests from the shores of the Baltic to the Rhine and the Danube. Every thing yielded before him, and every place opened its gates to him. This great prince, who had made war a new art, and accustomed his army to order, and a system of tactics never before known, perished at the memorable battle of Lutzen (1632), which the Swedes gained after his death, in consequence of the skillful dispositions he had formed.

The war was continued under the minority of

Queen Christina, his daughter and heir. It was still carried on, although the Swedes had undertaken a new war against Denmark, with the view of disengaging themselves from the mediation which Christian IV. had undertaken between the Emperor and Sweden, at the congress which was to meet at Munster and Osnaburg. The result of that war was completely to the advantage of Sweden, who gained by the peace of Bromsbro (1645) the freedom of the Sound, as also the possession of the provinces and islands of Jamptland, Herjedalen, Gothland, Oesel, and Halland. Lastly, the peace of Westphalia secured to Sweden considerable possessions on the southern coast of the Baltic Sea, such as Wismar, Bremen and Verden, and part of Pomerania.

The power of the Teutonic Knights, which had been greatly reduced during the preceding period, by the defection of a part of Prussia, was completely annihilated in the North, in consequence of the changes introduced by the reformation of religion. Albert of Brandenburg, grandson of the Elector Albert Achilles, on his elevation to the dignity of Grand Master of the Order, made an attempt to withdraw from Poland that fealty and homage to which the Knights had bound themselves by the treaty of Thorn in 1466. This contest furnished matter for a war between them; which began in 1519, and ended in 1521, by a truce of four years; at the expiration of which the Grand Master, who saw the doctrines of Luther disseminated in Prussia, and who had himself imbibed these principles in Germany, found means to settle all differences with the King of Poland, by a treaty which he concluded with him at Cracow (1525).

He there engaged to do homage and fealty to the crown of Poland as usual ; and Sigismund I., who was his maternal uncle, granted him Teutonic Prussia, with the title of Duchy, as a hereditary fief, both for himself and his male-heirs, and for his brothers of the House of Brandenburg and Franconia, and their feudal heirs ; reserving the right of reversion in favour of Poland, failing the male-descendants of these princes.

The Teutonic Knights thus lost Prussia, after having possessed it for nearly three hundred years. Retiring to their possessions in Germany, they established their principal residence at Mergentheim in Franconia, where they proceeded to the election of a new Grand Master, in the person of Walter de Cronberg. The Poles, in getting quit of the Teutonic Knights, whom they had regarded with jealousy, and substituting the House of Brandenburg in their place, never dreamed of adopting an enemy still more dangerous, who would one day concert the ruin and annihilation of their country.

Immediately after the treaty of Cracow, the new Duke of Prussia made a public profession of the Lutheran religion, and married a daughter of the King of Denmark. This princess dying without male issue, he married for his second wife a princess of the Brunswick family, by whom he had a son, Albert Frederic, who succeeded him in the duchy of Prussia. The race of these new dukes of Prussia (1568), as well as that of Franconia, which should have succeeded them, appearing to be nearly extinct, Joachim II., Elector of Brandenburg, obtained from the King of Poland the investiture of Prussia, in fief, conjunctly with the reigning dukes. This investiture, which was renewed in

favour of several of his successors, secured the succession of that duchy in the electoral family of Brandenburg; to whom it devolved on the death of Albert Frederic (1618), who left no male descendants. He was succeeded by the Elector John Sigismund, who had been coinvested with him in the duchy. That prince, who had married Anne, eldest daughter of Albert Frederic, obtained likewise, in right of that princess, part of the succession of Juliers, viz. the duchy of Cleves, the counties of Marck and Ravensberg, which had been adjudged to the house of Brandenburg, by the provisional act of partition concluded at Santen (1614), and converted into a definitive treaty at Cleves. The grandson of John Sigismund, the Elector Frederic William, was a prince of superior genius, and the true founder of the greatness of his family. Illustrious in war as in peace, and respected by all Europe, he acquired by the treaty of Westphalia, a part of Pomerania, the archbishopric of Magdeburg under the title of a duchy, with the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin, under the title of principalities. His son Frederic was the first King of Prussia.

[The Teutonic Knights had nearly lost Livonia at the beginning of the sixteenth century; but that province was saved by the courage and talents of the Provincial Master, Walter de Plattenberg. The Grand Duke Iwan, or John III., having threatened Livonia with an invasion, Plattenberg concluded a defensive alliance at Walik (1501), with Alexander II., Grand Duke of Lithuania, and the bishops of that country. After having assembled troops to the number of 14,000 men, he defeated the Russian army, which was 40,000 strong, at

Maholm ; a second victory, which he gained with the same number of troops over 100,000 Russians at Pleskow (1502), is one of the most famous exploits in the history of the North. Next year he concluded a truce of six years with the Livonian Order, which was afterwards renewed for fifty years.

It is commonly said that Walter, the Provincial Master, taking advantage of the distresses of the Teutonic Knights, and urging the repeated succours which he had furnished them against the Poles, purchased from them his own independence, and that of his Order ; but a recent author (Le Comte de Bray) has shown, that this was not exactly the case. By a first agreement signed at Coningsberg (1520), Albert of Brandenburg, who was then only Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, confirmed to the Knights of Livonia the free right of electing a chief of their own number, promising to sustain the individual whom they should nominate. He secured them the possession of the whole sovereignty of Reval and Narva ; the countries of Altentirken, Jerwen, and Wierland ; as also the town and castle of Wesenberg, with their dependencies. This agreement was revived and ratified by a second, signed at Grobin (1525), when it was formally stipulated, that the relations between the Knights of Livonia and the Teutonic Order should be maintained as they were, and that the Livonians should continue to regard the Grand Master as their true head, and render him homage and obedience. They were forbidden to solicit from the Emperor or the Pope any privilege derogatory of their allegiance. It appears, consequently, that Walter de Plattenberg did not pur-

chase the independence of his Order, but that he regarded those ties which existed between it and the Teutonic Order as broken, when Albert of Brandenburg was declared Duke of Prussia. He next renewed those connexions with the German Empire, which had existed since the thirteenth century; and was declared by Charles V. (1527) a prince of the Empire, having a vote and a seat in the Diet.

It was during the mastership of Plattenberg that the Lutheran doctrines penetrated into Livonia, where they made rapid progress, especially in the cities. Walter dexterously turned the disturbances caused by the opposition of the clergy to the new tenets, into an occasion for establishing his authority over all Livonia and Eethonia, which the Order had formerly shared with the bishops. The citizens of Riga acknowledged him as their only sovereign, and expelled the archbishop. The burgesses of Revel followed their example. The clergy were so frightened at these movements, that the archbishop of Riga, and the bishops of Dorpat, Oesel, Courland and Revel, formally submitted to the Order. The clergy themselves soon after embraced the reformed religion.]

The dominion of the Knights Sword-bearers, had continued in Livonia until the time of the famous invasion of that country by the Czar, John Basilovitz IV. That prince, who had laid open the Caspian Sea by his conquest of the Tartar kingdoms of Casan and Astrachan, meditated also that of Livonia, to obtain a communication with Europe by the Baltic. Gotthard Kettler, who was then Grand Master, finding himself unable to cope with an enemy so powerful, implored first

the assistance of the Germanic Body, of whom he was a member; but having got nothing but vague promises, he next addressed himself to Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, and, in concert with the archbishop of Riga, he concluded with that prince a treaty of submission at Wilna (1561); in virtue of which, the whole of Livonia, with Esthonia, Courland and Semigallia, comprising not only what was still in the possession of the Order, but those parts which had been seized by the enemy, were ceded to the crown of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania, on condition that the use of the Confession of Augsburg should be preserved on the same footing as it then was, and that all orders of the State should be maintained in their goods, properties, rights, privileges and immunities.

By this same treaty, Courland and Semigallia were reserved to Gotthard Kettler, the last Grand Master of Livonia, to be enjoyed by himself and his heirs-male, with the title of duchy, and as a fief of the king and crown of Poland. The new Duke, on taking the oath of fidelity to the King of Poland, solemnly laid aside all the badges of his former dignity. He married Anne, daughter to the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schewerin, and transmitted the duchy of Courland to his male-descendants, who did not become extinct until the eighteenth century. The Order of Livonia was entirely suppressed, as were also the archbishoprics of Riga, and the bishoprics under its jurisdiction.

The revolution in Livonia caused a violent commotion among the powers of the North, who were all eager to share in the plunder. While the

Grand Master of the Order was in treaty with Poland, the city of Revel, and the nobles of Esthonia, left without aid, and oppressed by the Russians, put themselves under the protection of Eric XIV., King of Sweden, who obtained possession of that province. The Isle of Oesel, on the contrary, and the district of Wyck in Esthonia, were sold to Frederic II., King of Denmark, by the last bishop of the island, who also ceded to him the bishopric and district of Pilten in Courland. Poland at first held the balance, and maintained Livonia against the Russians, by the peace which she concluded with that power at Kievorova-Horca (1582). A struggle afterwards ensued between Poland and Sweden for the same object, which was not finally terminated until the peace of Oliva (1660).

Russia, during the period of which we now treat, assumed an aspect entirely new. She succeeded in throwing off the yoke of the Moguls, and began to act a conspicuous part on the theatre of Europe. The Horde of Kipzack, called also the *Grand*, or the *Golden Horde*, had been greatly exhausted by its territorial losses, and the intestine wars which followed; while the Grand Dukes of Moscow gained powerful accessions by the reunion of several of these petty principalities, which had for a long time divided among them the sovereignty of Northern Russia. John Basilovitz III., who filled the grand ducal throne about the end of the fifteenth century, knew well how to profit by these circumstances to strengthen his authority at home, and make it be respected abroad. In course of several expeditions, he subdued the powerful re-

public of Novogorod, an ancient ally of the Hanseatic towns, and which had for a long time affected an entire independence. He was also the first sovereign of Russia that dared to refuse a humiliating ceremony, according to which the Grand Dukes were obliged to walk on foot before the envoys that came from the Khan of Kipzack. He even suppressed the residence of Tartar envoys at his court; and at length shook off their yoke entirely, refusing to pay the tribute which the Grand Dukes had owed to the Khans for several centuries. Achmet, Khan of Kipzack, having despatched certain deputies with an order, under the great seal, to demand payment of this tribute, the Grand Duke trampled the order under his feet, spit upon it, and then put all the deputies to death except one, whom he sent back to his master.

The Khan, with the view of revenging that insult, invaded Russia several times, but the Grand Duke vigorously repulsed all his attacks; and while he was arresting the progress of his arms on the borders of the Ugra, he despatched a body of troops to the centre of the Grand Horde, who laid every thing desolate (1481). The Nogai Tartars joined the Russians to finish the destruction of the Grand Horde, whose different settlements on the Wolga they laid completely in ruins; so that nothing more remained of the powerful empire of Kipzack than a few detached hordes, such as those of Casan, Astracan, Siberia, and the Crimea. Iwan rendered himself formidable to the Tartars; he subdued the Khans of Casan, and several times disposed of their throne. The entire reduction of that Tartar state was accomplished by his grandson, John

Basilovits IV., who twice undertook the siege of Casan, and seized and made prisoner of the last Khan (1552). The fall of Casan was followed by that of Astracan. But John was by no means so fortunate in his enterprises against Livonia, which, as we have already said, he was obliged to abandon to Poland by the peace of Kieverova-Horca.

John IV. was inspired with noble views of policy. Being anxious to civilize his subjects, he sent for workmen and artists from England. He requested Charles V. to send him men of talents, well versed in the different trades and manufactures. He introduced the art of printing at Moscow, and established the first permanent army in the country, that of the *Strelitzes*, which he employed in keeping the nobles in check. The discovery of Siberia is one of the events that belong to his reign. A certain chief of the Don Cossacks, named Jermak, who employed himself in robberies on the borders of the Wolga and the Caspian Sea, being pursued by a detachment of Russian troops, retired to the confines of Siberia. He soon entered these regions at the head of seven thousand Cossacks, and having gained several victories over the Tartars of Siberia, and their Khan Kutschem, he got possession of the city of Sibir, which was their principal fortress (1581). Jermak, in order to obtain his pardon of the Czar, made him an offer of all he had conquered; which was agreed to by that Prince, and the troops of the Russians then took possession of Siberia (1583). The total reduction of the country, however, did not take place until the reign of the Czar Theodore or Feder Iwanovitz, the son and successor of John, who built the city of To-

holsk (1587), which has since become the capital of Siberia.

Fedor Iwanovitz, a prince weak both in mind and body, was entirely under the counsels of his brother-in-law Boris Godunow, who, with the view of opening a way for himself to the throne, caused the young Demetrius, Fedor's only brother, to be assassinated (1591). This crime gave rise to a long series of troubles, which ended in the death of Fedor (1598). With him, as he left no children, the reigning family of the ancient sovereigns of Russia, the descendants of Ruric, became extinct ; after having occupied the throne for more than eight hundred years.

After this, the Russian Crown was worn by persons of different houses. Their reigns were disturbed by various pretenders, who assumed the name of Demetrius, and were supported by the Poles. During fifteen years Russia presented a shocking spectacle of confusion and carnage. At length, as a remedy for these disasters, they thought of bestowing the crown on a foreign prince. Some chose Charles Philip, the brother of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden ; and others voted for Uladislaus, the son of Sigismund IV., King of Poland. These resolutions tended only to increase the disorders of the state. The Swedes took advantage of them to seize Ingria and the city of Novogorod ; while the Poles took possession of Smolensko and its dependencies.

The Russians, now seeing their monarchy on the edge of a precipice, adopted the plan of electing a new Czar of their own nation. Their choice fell on Michael Fedrovitz, who became the founder of

the new dynasty, that of Romanow (1613), under whom Russia attained to the zenith of her greatness. That prince, guided by the sage councils of his father, Fedor Romanow, Archbishop of Rostow, soon rectified all the disorders of the state; he purchased peace of the Swedes, by surrendering to them Ingria and Russian Carelia. The sacrifices which he made to Poland, were not less considerable. By the truce of Divilina (1618), and the peace of Wiasma (1634), he ceded to them the vast territories of Smolensko, Tschernigou, and Novogorod, with their dependencies.

Poland, at this time, presented a corrupt aristocracy, which had insensibly degenerated into complete anarchy. The nobles were the only persons that enjoyed the rights of citizenship; they alone were represented in the Diets, by the nuncios or deputies which they elected at the Dietines; the honours and dignities both in church and state, and in general all prerogatives whatever, were reserved for them; while the burgesses and peasantry alone supported the whole burden of expenses. This constitution, at the same time, was under the control of a sort of democracy, in as far as the nobles, without exception, were held to be perfectly equal in their rights and dignities. Imperfect as a government must have been, established on such a basis, it still continued, nevertheless, to preserve some degree of vigour; and Poland supported, though feebly, the character of being the ruling power of the North, so long as the House of Jagello occupied the throne. Besides Prussia, of which she had dispossessed the Teutonic Knights,

she acquired Livonia, and maintained it in spite of Russia.

The reformation of religion was likewise promulgated in Poland, where it was particularly patronised by Sigismund II. A great part of the senate, and the better half of the nobility made, with their King, a profession of the new opinions; and if the reformation did not take deeper root in that kingdom, or if it had not a more conspicuous influence on the civilization of the people, it was from not being supported by the middle classes, which were not to be found in that kingdom.

The male line of Jagello, having become extinct with Sigismund II. (1572), the throne became purely elective; and it was ordained that, during the King's life, no successor could be appointed; but that the States, on his demise, should enjoy forever a perfect freedom of election on every vacancy of the throne. Such was the origin of the Diets of Election, which, from their very constitution, could not fail to be always tumultuous in their proceedings. The nobles in a body appeared at these Diets; thither they repaired in arms and on horseback, ranked according to the order of the Palatinates, in a Camp prepared for the purpose near Warsaw. The custom of the *Pacta Conventa*, took its rise about the same time. Henry de Valois, who was elected King on the death of Sigismund II., was the first that swore to these conventional agreements, [by which he engaged, that no foreigner should be introduced either in a civil or military department.] These *Pacta*, which had all the force of a fundamental law, specified those conditions under which the throne was con-

ferred on the new monarch. The royal authority was thus curtailed more and more, and the prerogatives of the nobility exalted in proportion.

Poland, in consequence, soon lost its influence; the government was altered from its basis, and the kingdom plunged into an abyss of calamities. Among the elective Kings who succeeded Henry de Valois, the last that supported the dignity of the crown against Russia, was Uladislaus IV, the son of Sigismund III., of the House of Vasa. In an expedition which he undertook into the interior of Russia (1618), he penetrated as far as Moscow; and in a second which he made (1634), he compelled the Russians to raise the siege of Smolensko; and shut them up so closely in their camp, that they were obliged to capitulate for want of provisions. He then made a new attack on the capital of Russia; and at the peace of Wiasma, he obtained conditions most advantageous to Poland.

In the history of Hungary, the most splendid era was the reign of Matthias Corvin, who, at the age of scarcely sixteen, had been raised to the throne by the pure choice of the nation (1458). Like his father the valorous John Hunniades, he was the terror of the Turks during his whole reign; he took Bosnia from them, and kept Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia, Sclavonia, and Servia in dependence on his crown, in spite of the incessant efforts which the Turks made to rescue these provinces. He likewise conquered Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia; he even took Austria from the Emperor Frederic III., and came to fix his residence at Vienna (1485). It was in that city that he terminated his brilliant career, at the early age of forty-seven (1490). That great prince

added to his military talents, a love for elegant literature, of which, from the first revival of letters, he showed himself a zealous protector.

The glory of Hungary suffered an eclipse in the loss of Matthias. His successors, Uladislav II., the son of Casimir IV. King of Poland, and Louis the son of Uladislav, who held at the same time the crown of Bohemia, were weak and indolent princes, who saw Hungary torn by factions, and ravaged with impunity by the Turks. Soliman the Great taking advantage of the youth of Louis, and the distressed state in which Hungary was, concerted his plans for conquering the kingdom. He attacked the fortress of Belgrade (1521), and made himself master of that important place, before the Hungarians could march to its relief. His first success encouraged him to return to the charge. Having crossed the Danube and the Drave without meeting with any resistance, he engaged the Hungarians near Mohacz (1526), in that famous battle which cost them the life of their king and their principal nobility. Twenty-two thousand Hungarians were left on the field of battle, and the whole kingdom lay at the mercy of the conqueror. Soliman now proceeded as far as the Raab; but instead of completing the conquest of Hungary as he might have done, he contented himself with the laying waste all that part of the country with fire and sword; and carrying several hundred thousand prisoners into slavery.

The premature death of the young King who left no progeny, occasioned a vacancy in the throne of Hungary and Bohemia. Ferdinand of Austria who married Anne, sister to Louis, claimed the succession in virtue of the different treaties signed

in the years 1463, 1468, 1491, and 1515, between the Austrian princes and the last kings of Hungary. But though the Bohemian States were disposed to listen to the pretensions of Ferdinand, it was not so with those of Hungary, who transferred the crown to John de Zapolya, Count of Zips, and Palatine of Transylvania. That prince being hardly pressed by Ferdinand, at length determined to throw himself under the protection of the Turks. Soliman marched in person to his assistance, and laid siege to the city of Vienna (1529). In this enterprise, however, he failed, after sacrificing the lives of nearly eighty thousand men.

In 1538, a treaty was agreed on between the two competitors, in virtue of which the whole kingdom of Hungary, on the death of John Zapolya, was to devolve on Ferdinand. This treaty was never carried into execution. John at his death having left a son named John Sigismund, then an infant in his cradle, Bishop George Martinuzzi, prime minister of the defunct king, proclaimed the young prince, and secured for him the protection of the Turks. Soliman undertook a new expedition into Hungary in his favour (1541); but by a piece of signal perfidy, he took this occasion to seize the city of Buda, the capital of the kingdom, and several other places; and banished the prince with his mother the queen-dowager, to Transylvania, which he gave up to him, with several other districts in Hungary. The city of Buda with the greater part of Hungary and Sclavonia remained in the power of the Turks; and Ferdinand was obliged to pay an annual tribute for the protection of that kingdom, the possession of which was guaranteed

to him by the truce which he concluded with them in 1562.

In the midst of these unfortunate events, the Austrian princes had again the imprudence to alienate the affections of the Hungarians, by the intolerant spirit they displayed, and the efforts which they incessantly made to extirpate the Protestant religion in that kingdom. The opinions of Luther and Calvin had already been propagated in Hungary during the reign of Louis, the predecessor of Ferdinand. They had even made great progress; especially in Transylvania, where the German language and literature were generally cultivated. The oppressions which the partisans of the new doctrines experienced, added to the attempts which the Austrian princes made, from time to time, to subvert the ancient constitution of the kingdom, excited fresh troubles, and favoured the designs of the discontented and ambitious, who were watching their opportunity to agitate the state, and make encroachments on the government. Stephen Botschkai, Bethlem Gabor, and George Ragoczi, princes of Transylvania, were successively the chiefs or leaders of these malcontents, in the reigns of Rodolph II., Ferdinand II., and Ferdinand III., Emperors of Germany. According to the Pacification of Vienna (1606), and that of Lintz (1645), as well as by the decrees of the Diet of Odenburg (1622), and of Presburg (1647), these princes were compelled to tolerate the public exercise of the reformed religion; and to redress the political complaints of the Hungarian malcontents.

The same troubles on the score of religion, which infested Hungary, extended likewise to Bohemia, where the new doctrines met with a much better

reception, as they were in unison with the religious system of the Hussites, who had already numerous partisans in that kingdom. It was chiefly under the reign of the mild and tolerant Maximilian II. that Protestantism made its way in Bohemia. All those who were formerly called *Utraquists*, from their professing the Communion in both kinds, joined the followers either of Luther or Calvin. Rodolph II., the son and successor of Maximilian, was obliged, at the Diet of Prague (1609), to grant them the free exercise of their worship, without distinction of place; and even to extend this indulgence to the Protestants of Silesia and Lusatia by letters-patent, known by the name of *Letters of Majesty*; copies of which were made at Prague on the 11th of July and 20th of August 1609. These letters were confirmed by King Matthias, on his accession to the throne of Bohemia; as also by Ferdinand III., when he was acknowledged by the Bohemian States, as the adopted son and successor of Matthias.

The different interpretations which were put on these letters occasioned the war, known in history by the name of the Thirty Years' War. The Emperor Matthias happening to die in the midst of these disturbances, the Bohemian States, regarding their crown as elective, annulled the election of Ferdinand II. (1619), and conferred the crown on Frederic, the Elector Palatine. Being in strict alliance with the States of Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia, they declared war against Ferdinand, who was supported, on the other hand, by Spain, the Catholic princes of the Empire, and the Elector of Saxony.

The famous battle of Prague (1620), and the

fall of the Elector Palatine, brought about a revolution in Bohemia. The ringleaders of the insurrection were executed at Prague, and their goods confiscated. Ferdinand, who treated that kingdom as a conquered country, declared that the States had forfeited their rights and privileges; and, in the new constitution which he gave them, he consented to restore these, only on condition of expressly excepting the rights which they had claimed in the election of their kings, as well as the Letters of Majesty which granted to the Protestants the free exercise of their worship. But this prince did not stop with the suppression of their religious liberties, he deprived them also of their rights of citizenship. Laws the most atrocious were published against them, and he even went so far as to deny them the liberty of making testaments, or contracting legal marriages. All their ministers, without exception, were banished the kingdom; and the most iniquitous means were employed to bring back the Protestants to the pale of the Catholic Church. At length it was enjoined, by an edict in 1607, that all Protestants who persisted in their opinions should quit the kingdom within six months. Thirty thousand of the best families in the kingdom, of whom a hundred and eighty-five were nobility, abandoned Bohemia, transporting their talents and their industry to the neighbouring States, such as Saxony, Brandenburg, Prussia, &c.

Ferdinand judged it for his interest to detach the Elector of Saxony from the alliance with Sweden, which he had joined. He concluded a special peace with him at Prague, in virtue of which he made over to him the two Lusatias,

which he had dismembered from the kingdom of Bohemia, to reimburse the Elector for those sums which he claimed, as having been the ally of Austria against the Elector Palatine, then King of Bohemia. That province was ceded to the Elector John George, for himself and his successors, as a fief of the Bohemian crown, under the express condition, that failing the male line of the Electoral branch, it should pass to the female heirs ; but that it should then be at the option of the King of Bohemia to use the right of redemption, by repaying to the female heirs the sum for which Lusatia had been mortgaged to Saxony. This sum amounted to seventy-two tons of gold, valued at seven millions two hundred thousand florins.

The Turkish Empire received new accessions of territory, both in Asia and Europe, under the successors of Mahomet II., who had fixed their capital at Constantinople. The conquest of Bessarabia belongs to the reign of Bajazet II., about the year 1484. That prince had a brother named Jem or Zizim, who had been his competitor for the throne ; and having fled to Rome, he was imprisoned by order of Pope Alexander VI., at the instance of Bajazet, who had engaged to pay the Pope a large pension for him. Charles VIII. of France, when he made his expedition into Italy for the conquest of Naples, compelled the Pope to surrender up the unfortunate Zizim, whom he designed to employ in the expedition which he meditated against the Turks, but which never took place. Selim I. the son and successor of Bajazet, taking advantage of a revolution which happened in Persia, and of the victory which he gained near Tauris over the

Schaw Ismail Sophi I. (1514), conquered the provinces of Diarbekir and Algezira, beyond the Euphrates.

The same prince overturned the powerful Empire of the Mamelukes, who reigned over Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and part of Arabia. He defeated the last Sultana, Cansoul-Algouri, and Toulmanbey (1516), and totally annihilated that dynasty. Cairo, the capital of the Empire of Egypt, was taken by assault (1517), and the whole of the Mameluke States incorporated with the Ottoman Empire. The Scheriff of Mecca likewise submitted to the Porte, with several tribes of the Arabs.

Soliman the Great, who succeeded his father Selim, raised the Turkish Empire to the highest pitch of glory. Besides the island of Rhodes, which he took from the Knights of St John, and the greater part of Hungary, he reduced the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia to a state of dependence, and made their princes vassals and tributaries of his Empire. He likewise conquered Bagdad and Irak-Arabia, which happened, according to the Turkish authors, about the year 1534.

That prince distinguished his reign, by the efforts which he made to increase the maritime strength of the Empire, which his predecessors had neglected. He took into his service the famous pirate Barbarossa, King of Algiers, whom he created Capitan Pacha, or Grand Admiral. Barbarossa equipped a fleet of more than a hundred sail, with which he chased the Imperialists from the Archipelago; and infested the coasts of Spain, Italy and Sicily (1565). Soliman miscarried, however, in his enterprise against Malta. The courageous de-

fence made by the Knights, together with the arrival of the fleet from Sicily, obliged the Ottomans to retreat.

The decline of the Ottoman Empire began with the death of Soliman the Great (1566). The sultans, his successors, surrendering themselves to luxury and effeminacy, and shut up in their seraglios and harems, left to their Grand Viziers the government of the Empire, and the management of the army. The sons of these Sultans, educated by women and eunuchs, and secluded from all civil and military affairs, contracted from their earliest infancy all the vices of their fathers, and no longer brought to the throne that vigorous and enterprising spirit, which had been the soul of the Ottoman government, and the basis of all their institutions. Selim II., the son of Soliman, was the first who set this fatal example to his successors. In his time, the Turks took the Isle of Cyprus from the Venetians (1570), which they maintained in spite of the terrible defeat which they received at Lepanto (1571), and which was followed by the ruin of their marine.

REVOLUTIONS OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER VIII.

PERIOD VII.

FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, TO THAT
OF UTRECHT.

A. D. 1648—1713.

THE political system of Europe underwent a great change at the commencement of this period. France, after having long struggled for her own independence against Austria, at length turned the balance, and became so formidable as to combine against herself the whole policy and military power of Europe. The origin of this extraordinary influence of France, belongs to the reigns of Charles VII., and Louis XI. Several important accessions which she made at this epoch, together with the change which happened in her government, gave her a power and energy, which might have secured her a decided preponderance among the Continental States, had not her influence been overba-

lanced by Austria, which, by a concurrence of fortunate events, and several wealthy marriages, had suddenly risen to a degree of power that excited the jealousy of all Europe. Hence, for nearly two hundred years, it required all the political resources of France to make head against her rival; and what added to her misfortunes was, that, though freed from the distraction of the Italian war, she was still agitated by civil wars, which employed her whole military force.

It was not till near the middle of the seventeenth century that she extricated herself from this long struggle; and that, disengaged from the shackles of her own factions and internal dissensions, her power assumed a new vigour. The well regulated condition of her finances, the prosperity of her commerce and manufactures, and the respectable state of her marine, all concurred to diffuse wealth and abundance over the kingdom. The abasement of the House of Austria, effected at once by the treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees, together with the consolidation of the Germanic body, and the federal system of the Provinces in the Netherlands, put the last climax on her glory, and secured to her the preponderance in the political scale of Europe. This change in her political system was achieved principally by the two great statesmen, Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, who, by drying up the fountains of civil dissensions, and concentrating the reins of authority in the hands of the government, raised that monarchy to the rank which its position, its population, and its internal resources, had assigned it among the powers of the Continent.

Mazarin left the kingdom in a flourishing state to Louis XIV., who, aided by the counsels and assistance of the famous Colbert, became the patron of letters and the fine arts, and finished the work which was begun by his prime minister. Nothing could equal the ardour which inspired that prince for military fame. France would have been prosperous under his reign, and respected even by all Europe, had he kept nothing else in view than the true interests and happiness of his people ; but he was ambitious of that sort of glory which is the scourge of mankind, the glory of heroes and conquerors. Hence there resulted a long series of wars, which exhausted the strength and resources of the state, and introduced a new change in its political system. The same States who had formerly made common cause with France against Austria, now combined against the former, to humble that gigantic power which seemed to threaten their liberty and independence.

[In these alliances the maritime powers voluntarily took part ; and, having less fear than the others of falling under the yoke of a universal monarchy, they joined the Confederates merely for the protection of their commerce—the true source of their influence and their wealth. They undertook the defence of the equilibrium system, because they perceived, that a State which could command the greater part of the continental coasts, might in many ways embarrass their commerce, and perhaps become dangerous to their marine. They soon acquired a very great influence in the affairs of this system, by the subsidies with which from time to time they furnished the States of the Continent. From this period the principal aim of European

policy was their finances and their commercial interests, in place of religion, which had been the grand motive or pretext for the preceding wars. With this new system began those abuses of commercial privileges and monopolies, prohibitions, imposts, and many other regulations, which acted as restraints on natural liberty, and became the scourge of future generations. It was then that treaties of commerce first appeared, by which every trading nation endeavoured to procure advantages to itself, at the expense of its rivals; and it was then that the belligerent powers began to lay restraints and interdicts on the commerce of neutral States.

But the political system of Europe experienced other changes at this period. Standing armies were introduced, and augmented to a degree that proved ruinous both to the agriculture of the inhabitants, and the finances of the government, which, by this means, was rendered more and more dependent on those States, whose principal object was commerce. The frequent communication between foreign courts, which the policy of Richelieu had rendered necessary, gave occasion for envoys and resident ministers; whereas formerly scarcely any other intercourse was known, except by extraordinary embassies.]

The first war that roused the European powers, was that which Louis XIV. undertook against Spain, to enforce the claims which he advanced, in name of his Queen Maria Theresa, over several provinces of the Spanish Netherlands, especially the duchies of Brabant and Limburg, the seigniories of Malines, the marquisate of Antwerp, Upper Gueldres, the counties of Namur, Hainault and

Artois, Cambray and Cambresis, which he alleged belonged to him, in virtue of the *right of devolution*, according to the usages of that country. According to that right, the property of goods passed to the children of the first marriage, when their parents contracted another. Maria Theresa, Queen of France, was the daughter, by the first marriage, of Philip IV. King of Spain; whereas Charles II., his successor in that monarchy, was descended of the second marriage. Louis XIV. contended, that from the moment of Philip's second marriage, the property of all the countries, which were affected by the right of devolution, belonged to his Queen; and that, after the death of her father, that Princess should enjoy the succession. In opposition to these claims of France, the Spaniards alleged, that the right of devolution, being founded merely on custom, and applicable only to particular successions, could not be opposed to the fundamental laws of Spain, which maintained the indivisibility of that monarchy, and transferred the whole succession to Charles II. without any partition whatever.

In course of the campaign of 1667, the French made themselves masters of several cities in the Low Countries, such as Bruges, Farnes, Armentieres, Charleroi, Binch, Ath, Tournay, Douay, Courtray, Oudenarde, and Lille; and in course of the following winter, they got possession of Franche-Comté. The Pope and several princes having volunteered their good offices for the restoration of peace, they proposed a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle; but the principal scene of the negotiation was at the Hague, where Louis sent the Count d'Estrades, to treat separately with the

States-General. This negotiation was greatly accelerated by the famous Triple Alliance, concluded at the Hague 1668, between Great Britain, Sweden, and the States-General. By the terms of this treaty, the Allied Powers offered Louis the alternative, either to leave him in possession of the places which he had conquered, during the campaign of 1667, or to cede to him either the duchy of Luxemburg, or Franche-Comté with the cities of Cambray, Douay, Aire, St Omer, and Furnes, with their dependencies. The Spaniards having accepted the former of these alternatives, the draught of a treaty of peace was agreed on, and signed by the ministers of France, England, and the States-General; and this scheme served as the basis of the treaty, which was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, between France and Spain (May 2d 1668). In consideration of the restitutions which she had made to Spain, France retained, in terms of this treaty, the towns of Charleroi, Binch, Ath, Douay, Tournay, Oudenarde, Lille, Armentieres, Courtray, Bergues, and Furnes, with their bailiwicks and dependencies.

This peace was soon followed by a new war, which Louis XIV. undertook against the Republic of the Seven United Provinces. Wishing to be avenged on the Dutch, whom he knew to be the principal authors of the Triple Alliance, and consulting only his own propensity for war, he alleged, as a pretext, certain insulting medals which had been struck in Holland, on the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the the Triple Alliance.¹ In vain did the States-General offer him every satisfaction; he persisted in his purpose of declaring war; and the better to succeed in his

design, he endeavoured first to dissolve the Triple Alliance. Colbert de Croissy, whom he sent to England, found means to detach Charles II. from the alliance, and to draw him over to side with Louis against the Republic. The same success attended the negociation which he set on foot with the Court of Stockholm. Following the example of England, the Swedes renounced the Triple Alliance; and joined with France. Several princes of the Empire, such as the Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster, adopted the same line of conduct. The war broke out in 1672; and so rapid were the conquests of Louis, that he subdued in one single campaign the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overysseel, and part of Holland. He would have carried the city of Amsterdam, if the Dutch had not cut their dikes and inundated the country.

Alarmed at these extraordinary successes, and apprehending the entire subversion of the Republic, the Emperor Leopold I. the King of Spain, the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Imperial States, leagued in their favour, and marched to their relief. The Parliament of England obliged Charles II. to make peace with the Republic, by refusing to grant him supplies (1674). The Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster did the same thing. Louis XIV. then thought proper to abandon his conquests in Holland; and directed his principal strength against Spain and the Germanic States. He subdued Franche Comté in the spring of 1674; and in course of the same year, the Prince of Condé gained the battle of Senef. In the following winter Turenne attacked the quarters of the Imperialists in Alsace, and

chased them from that province, in spite of their superior numbers. That great general was slain at Sasbach in Ortenau when he was on the point of fighting the famous battle with Montecuculi (11th Aug. 1674). Next year Admiral du Quesne gained two naval victories, near the islands of Lipari and Messina, over De Ruyter, who died of the wounds he had received.

The Swedes, according to the secret articles of their alliance with France, had penetrated, in the month of December 1674, into the Electorate of Brandenburg, to cause a diversion against the Elector Frederic William, who commanded the Imperial army on the Rhine; but the Elector surprised them by forced marches at Rathenow, and completely routed their army near Fehrbellin (1675). The Emperor then declared war against Sweden; and the Elector, in concert with the princes of Brunswick, the Bishop of Munster, and the King of Denmark, stript the Swedes of the greater part of their possessions in the Empire.

At length, in the years 1678-79, a peace was concluded at Nimeguen, under the mediation of England. Louis XIV. contrived to divide the allies, and to make a separate treaty with the Dutch, by which he restored to them the city of Maestricht, which he had again seized. The example of the Dutch was followed by the Spaniards, who in like manner signed a special treaty with France; in virtue of which, they gave up to her Franche-Comté, with several cities in Flanders and Hainault, such as Valenciennes, Bouchain, Condé, Cambray, Aire, St Omer, Ypres, Warwick, Warnton, Poperingen, Bailleul, Cassel, Bavay, and Maubeuge, with their dependencies. The peace of Munster (1679) was renewed by that which was

concluded at Nimeguen, between France, the Empire, and the Emperor. France, on renouncing her right to a garrison in Philipsburg, got possession of the city of Friburg in Brigaw, but refused to restore what she had wrested from the Duke of Lorraine, except on conditions so burdensome, that the Duke would not accept them, and preferred to abandon the repossession of his duchy. As to the peace which France and Sweden had negotiated with Denmark and her allies the Princes of the Empire, it was renewed by different special treaties, concluded in course of the year 1679.

No sooner was the peace of Nimeguen concluded, than there sprung up new troubles, known by the name of the *Troubles of the Reunions*. Louis XIV., whose ambition was without bounds, had instituted a *Chamber of Reunion*, in the parliament of Metz, for the purpose of examining the nature and extent of the territories ceded to him by the treaties of Westphalia, the Pyrenees, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Nimeguen. This Chamber, as well as the Parliament of Besançon, and the Sovereign Council of Alsace, adjudged to the King, by their decree, several towns and seigniories, as being fiefs or dependencies of Alsace; as also the three bishoprics, Franche-Comté, and the territories which had been ceded to him in the Netherlands.

The King's views were principally directed to Alsace. He had already tendered his claims on this province, shortly after the peace of the Pyrenees, when the matter had been referred to the decision of arbiters chosen by the Emperor himself. The work of arbitration was not far advanced, when it was interrupted by the Dutch war, in which the Emperor and the Empire were

both implicated. The peace of Nimeguen having confirmed the treaty of Munster, he preferred the method of reunion to that of arbitration, for reclaiming his alleged rights. Taking advantage of the general terms in which the cession of Alsace was announced in the seventy-third and seventy-fourth articles of the said treaty, he claimed the absolute sovereignty of the whole province, and obliged the immediate states, included in it, to acknowledge his sovereignty, and do him fealty and homage, notwithstanding the reservations which the eighty-seventh article of the same treaty had stipulated in favour of these very States. M. de Louvois appeared before Strasburg at the head of the French army, and summoned that city to submit to the King. Accordingly, it surrendered by capitulation on the 30th September 1681. These reunions extended also to the Netherlands, where the French seized, among others, the cities of Courtray, Dixmude and Luxemburg.

Louis XIV., in thus taking upon himself alone the interpretation of these treaties of peace, could not but offend the powers interested in maintaining them. A new general league was projected against France, and at the Diet of Ratisbon they deliberated on the means of setting on foot an Imperial army; but the want of unanimity among the members of the Germanic body, the troubles in Hungary, which were immediately succeeded by a war with the Porte, and the march of a Turkish army on Vienna, threw them into a state of consternation, and prevented the Imperial Diet from adopting any vigorous resolution. Spain, exhausted by protracted wars, and abandoned by

England and Holland, was quite incapacitated from taking arms. Nothing, therefore, remained for the parties concerned, than to have recourse to negotiation. Conferences were opened at Frankfort, which, after having languished for fifteen months in that city, were transferred to Ratisbon, where a truce of twenty years was signed (15th August 1684) between France and Spain; as also between France, the Emperor and the Empire. By the former of these treaties, Louis retained Luxemburg, Bovines, and Chimay, with their dependencies; restoring back all the places which he had occupied in the Netherlands prior to the 20th August 1683. As to the treaty between France and the Emperor, the former retained, during the truce, the city of Strasburg, and the fort of Kehl, besides all the places and seigniories which they had taken possession of, since the commencement of the troubles till the 1st of August 1681. In all the places that were surrendered to him, Louis preserved the exercise of his sovereign rights, leaving to the proprietors or seigniors the entire enjoyment of the fruits and revenues belonging to their territorial rights.

It was nearly about this same time that Louis XIV. undertook to extirpate Calvinism in France. Incensed against the Protestants by the old chancellor Letellier, and his minister Louvois, the chancellor's son, he circumscribed, by repeated declarations, the privileges which they enjoyed in virtue of former edicts. The holding of general synods was forbidden; the two Chambers were suppressed; and they were all, without exception, debarred from exercising any public function. At last, Louis went so far as to send, immediately

after the treaty of Ratisbon (1684), dragoons over all France, to endeavour, as was said, to convert the Protestants by gentle compulsion. This measure was next followed by the famous Edict of 1685, which revoked that of Nantes, published in 1598, and that of Nismes in 1629. All exercise of their religion—all assemblies for worship, even in the houses, were forbidden to the Protestants, under pain of imprisonment and confiscation of goods. Their churches were ordered to be demolished. Parents were enjoined to have their children baptized by the Catholic clergy, and to bring them up in the religion of the state. The ministers were banished, and the other Protestants were forbidden to depart the country, under pain of the galleys for men, and imprisonment and confiscation for women. The rigour of these prohibitions, however, did not prevent a vast multitude of the French Protestants from removing to foreign countries, and transferring the seat of their industry to Germany, England, and Holland.

This blindfold zeal for religion, however, did not hinder Louis from vigorously supporting the rights of his crown against the encroachments of the court of Rome. Among the different disputes that arose between him and the Popes, that which regarded the *Regale* deserves to be particularly remarked. The King, by declarations issued in 1673 and 1675, having extended that right to all the archbishoprics and bishoprics within the kingdom, the bishops of Aleth and Pamiers, who pretended to be exempt from it, applied to the Pope, claiming his protection. Innocent XI. interposed, by vehement briefs which he addressed to the King in favour of the bishops. This induced Louis to con-

voke an assembly of the French clergy, in which, besides the extension of the Regale, he caused them to draw up the four famous propositions, which are regarded as the basis of the liberties of the Gallican Church. These propositions were, (1.) That the power of the Pope extends only to things spiritual, and has no concern with temporal matters. (2.) That the authority of the Pope in spiritual affairs is subordinate to a general council. (3.) That it is even limited by the canons, the customs, and constitution of the kingdom and the Gallican Church. (4.) That in matters of faith the Pope's authority is not infallible.

The truce which had been concluded for twenty years at Ratisbon, continued only four; at the end of which Louis again took up arms. He pretended to have got information, that the Emperor Leopold only waited till the conclusion of the peace with the Turks, to make war upon him; and he thence inferred, that prudence required him rather to anticipate his enemy, than allow himself to be circumvented. In proof of this assertion, he cited the treaty concluded at Augsburg in 1606, between the Emperor, the King of Spain, the States-General, Sweden, the Duke of Savoy, and the principal States of the Empire, for the maintenance of the treaties concluded with France. Louis wished moreover to enforce the claims which the Duchess of Orleans, his sister-in-law, alleged to the succession of the Palatinate. That princess was the sister of Charles, the last Elector Palatine, of the family of Simmern, who died in 1685. She did not dispute the fiefs with her brother's successor in the Electorate; she claimed the freeholds, which comprehended a considerable part of the Pa-

latinate; while the new Elector, Philip William, of the family of Neuburg, maintained that, according to the laws and usages of Germany, the entire succession belonged to him, without any partition whatever.

Besides these motives which Louis XIV. set forth in a long manifesto, there was another which he kept concealed, the object of which was, to prevent the expedition which the Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the United Provinces, was preparing to send to England, against James II. his brother-in-law, who had become odious to the whole English nation. It was of great importance for France to maintain, on the throne of Great Britain, a prince whom she protected, and who would always espouse her interests; while it was easy to foresee, that if the Prince of Orange, the declared enemy of Louis, and the author of the league of Augsburg, should succeed in uniting the crown of England to the stadtholdership, he would not fail to employ this new influence, and turn the combined force of both states against France. The only method of preventing an event so prejudicial to the true interests of that kingdom would have been, doubtless, to equip an expedition, and pitch his camp on the frontiers of Holland. The Court of France knew this well, and yet they contented themselves with sending an army to the Rhine, which took possession of Philipsburg, Mayence, and the whole Palatinate, as well as a part of the Electorate of Treves (Sept. and Oct. 1688). Louvois, the French minister who directed these operations, had flattered himself that the Dutch, when they beheld the war breaking out in their vicinity, would not

dare to take any part in the troubles of England. In this opinion he was deceived, the Prince of Orange, supported by the Dutch fleet, effected a landing in England (16th November 1688). The revolution there was soon completed, by the dethronement of James II.; and Louis XIV., ending where he should have begun, then declared war against the States-General. This mistaken policy of the French minister became the true source of all the subsequent reverses that eclipsed the reign of Louis XIV.

A powerful league was now formed against France, which was joined successively by the Emperor, the Empire, England, Holland, Spain and Savoy (1689). Louis XIV., in order to make head against these formidable enemies, recalled his troops from those places which they occupied in the Palatinate, and on the banks of the Rhine; but in withdrawing them, he ordered a great number of the towns to be burnt to ashes, and laid waste the whole country. By this barbarity, which circumstances by no means called for, he only aggravated the hatred and increased the ardour of his enemies. War was commenced by sea and land; in Italy, Spain, Ireland, the Low Countries, and on the Rhine. Louis supported it nobly against a great part of Europe, now combined against him. His armies were victorious everywhere. Marshal Luxembourg signalized himself in the campaigns of Flanders, by the victories which he gained over the allies at Fleurus (1st July 1690), Steinkirk (3d Aug. 1692), and Landen or Nerwinden (29th July 1693). In Italy, Marshal Catinat gained the battle of Stafarda (18th Aug. 1690), and Marsailles (4th Oct. 1693) over the Duke of Savoy. The naval glory of France was well supported by the Count

de Tourville at the battles of Beachy-head (10th July 1690), and La Hogue (29th May 1692).

However brilliant the success of her arms might be, the prodigious efforts which the war required could not but exhaust France, and make her anxious for the return of peace. Besides, Louis XIV. foresaw the approaching death of Charles II. of Spain; and it was of importance for him to break the grand alliance as soon as possible; as one of its articles secured the succession of the Spanish monarchy to the Emperor and his descendants, to the exclusion of the King of France. In this case, he wished, for his own interest, to give every facility for the restoration of peace; and by the treaty which he concluded separately with the Duke of Savoy, he granted that Prince, besides the fortress of Pignerol, and the marriage of his daughter with the Duke of Burgundy, the privilege of royal honours for his ambassadors. This treaty, concluded at Turin (29th Aug. 1696), was a preliminary to the general peace, signed at Ryswick, between France, Spain, England, and Holland (20th Sept. 1697). Each of the contracting parties consented to make mutual restitutions. France even restored to Spain all the towns and territories which she had occupied in the Low Countries, by means of the reunions; with the exception of eighty-two places, mentioned in a particular list, as being dependencies of Charlemont, Maubeuge, and other places ceded by the preceding treaties. Peace between France, the Emperor, and the Empire was also signed at Ryswick. The treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen were there renewed; and the decrees of the Chamber of Reunion at Metz, and of the Sovereign Courts at Besançon and Brisach, were rescinded and

annulled. Louis XIV. engaged to restore to the Empire all that he had appropriated to himself, by means of the reunions, either before or during the war ; that is to say, all places situated or acquired beyond the bounds of Alsace. The city of Strasbourg was ceded to France, by a particular article of the treaty ; but the fortress of Kehl, the cities of Friburg, Brisach, and Philipsburg, were surrendered to the Emperor. Leopold, Duke of Lorraine, and son of Charles V., was reinstated in his duchy, without any other reservation than that of Saar-Louis, and the city and prefecture of Longwy. As to the claims of the Duchess of Orleans on the Palatinate, they were submitted to the arbitration of the Emperor and the King of France ; to be referred to the decision of the Pope, should these two Sovereigns happen to differ in opinion.

The peace of Ryswick was followed by the war of the Spanish Succession, which embroiled Europe afresh, and occasioned considerable changes in its political state. Charles II. King of Spain, son of Philip IV., and last male descendant of the Spanish branch of the House of Austria, having neither son, nor daughter, nor brother, the Spanish monarchy, according to a fundamental law of the kingdom, which fixed the succession in the *cognate line*, appeared to belong to Maria Theresa, Queen of France, eldest sister of Charles, and to the children of her marriage with Louis XIV. To this title of Maria Theresa, was opposed her express renunciation, inserted in her marriage-contract, and confirmed by the peace of the Pyrenees ; but the French maintained, that that renunciation was null, and that it could not prejudice the chil-

dren of the Queen, who held their right, not from their mother, but by the fundamental law of Spain.

Admitting the validity of the Queen's renunciation, the lineal order devolved the Spanish succession on her younger sister, Margaret Theresa, who had married the Emperor Leopold I., and left an only daughter, Maria Antoinette, spouse to the Elector of Bavaria, and mother of Joseph Ferdinand, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria.

The Emperor, who wished to preserve the Spanish monarchy in his own family, availed himself of the renunciation which he had exacted from his daughter, the Archduchess Maria Antoinette, when she married Maximilian, the Elector of Bavaria, to appear as a candidate himself, and advance the claims of his mother, Maria Anne, daughter of Philip-III. King of Spain, and aunt to Charles II. He alleged, that the Spanish succession had been secured to this latter Princess, both by her marriage-contract, and by the testaments of the Kings of Spain; and as he had two sons, the Archdukes Joseph and Charles, by his marriage with the Princess Palatine of Neuburg, he destined the elder for the Imperial throne and the States of Austria, and the younger for the Spanish monarchy.

These different claims having excited apprehensions of a general war, England and Holland, from a desire to prevent it, drew up a treaty of partition, in concert with Louis XIV. (11th Oct. 1698), in virtue of which the Spanish monarchy was secured to Joseph Ferdinand, in case of the death of Charles II.; while the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with the ports of Tuscany, the marquisate of Finale, and the province of Guipuscoa, were reserved to the Dauphin

of France. The Archduke Charles, son to the Emperor, was to have the duchy of Milan. Although the King of Spain disapproved of the treaty, in so far as it admitted a partition, nevertheless, in his will, he recognised the Prince of Bavaria as his successor in the Spanish monarchy.

A premature death having frustrated all the high expectations of that prince, the powers who had concluded the first treaty of partition drew up a second, which was signed at London (March 13, 1700). According to this, the Archduke Charles, eldest son of the Emperor Leopold, was destined the presumptive heir to the Spanish monarchy. They awarded to the Dauphin the duchy of Lorraine, with the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and the province of Guipuscoa; assigning to the Duke of Lorraine the duchy of Milan in exchange. Louis XIV. used every effort to have this new treaty of partition approved by the Court of Vienna. He sent thither the Marquis Villars, who, after having been long amused with vague promises, failed entirely in his negotiation; and the Emperor, whose main object was to conciliate the Court of Madrid, lost the only favourable moment which might have fixed the succession of the Spanish monarchy in his family, with the consent of Louis XIV. and the principal Courts of Europe.

At Madrid, this affair took a turn diametrically opposite to the views and interests of the Court of Vienna. Charles II., following the counsels of his prime minister, Cardinal Portocarrero, and after having taken the advice of the Pope, and of the most eminent theologians and lawyers in his kingdom, determined to make a second will, in which he recognised the rights of Maria Theresa, his

eldest sister ; and declared, that as the renunciation of that princess had been made solely to prevent the union of Spain with the kingdom of France, that motive ceased on transferring the Spanish monarchy to one of the younger sons of the Dauphin. Accordingly, he nominated Philip of Anjou, the Dauphin's second son, heir to his whole dominions ; failing him, the Duke of Berri, his younger brother ; next, the Archduke Charles ; and lastly, the Duke of Savoy ; expressly forbidding all partition of the monarchy.

Charles II. having died on the 1st of November following, the Junta, or Council of Regency, which he had appointed by his will, sent to Louis XIV., praying him to accede to the settlement of their late King, and give up his grandson to the wishes of the Spanish nation. The same courier had orders to pass on to Vienna, in case of a refusal on his part, and make the same offer to the Archduke. The Court of France then assembled a Grand Council, in which they held a deliberation as to what step it was best to adopt, in an affair which so nearly concerned the general repose of Europe. The result of this Council was, that they ought to accede to the will of Charles II., and renounce the advantages which the second treaty of partition held out to France. It was alleged, as the reason of this resolution, that by refusing to accept the will, Louis must either abandon altogether his pretensions to the Spanish monarchy, or undertake an expensive war to obtain by conquest what the treaty of partition assigned him ; without being able, in this latter case, to reckon on the effectual cooperation of the two maritime courts.

Louis XIV. having therefore resolved to accede

to the will, Philip of Anjou was proclaimed King by the Spaniards, and made his solemn entry into Madrid on the 14th of April 1701. Most of the European powers, such as the States of Italy, Sweden, England, Holland, and the kingdoms of the North, acknowledged Philip V.; the King of Portugal, and the Duke of Savoy even concluded treaties of alliance with him. Moreover, the situation of political affairs in Germany, Hungary, and the North was such, that it would have been easy for Louis XIV., with prudent management, to preserve the Spanish crown on the head of his grandson; but he seemed, as if on purpose, to do every thing to raise all Europe against him. It was alleged, that he aimed at the chimerical project of universal monarchy, and the reunion of France with Spain. Instead of trying to do away this supposition, he gave it additional force, by issuing letters-patent in favour of Philip, at the moment when he was departing for Spain, to the effect of preserving his rights to the throne of France. The Dutch dreaded nothing so much as to see the French making encroachments on the Spanish Netherlands, which they regarded as their natural barrier against France; the preservation of which appeared to be equally interesting to England.

It would have been prudent in Louis XIV. to give these maritime powers some security on this point, who, since the elevation of William Prince of Orange to the crown of Great Britain, held as it were in their hands the balance of Europe. Without being ~~swayed~~ ^{swayed} by this consideration, he obtained authority from the Council of Madrid, to introduce a French army into the Spanish Netherlands; and on this occasion the Dutch troops, who were

quartered in various places of the Netherlands, according to a stipulation with the late King of Spain, were disarmed. This circumstance became a powerful motive for King William, to rouse the States-General against France. He found some difficulty, however, in drawing over the British Parliament to his views, as a great majority in that House were averse to mingle in the quarrels of the Continent; but the death of James II. altered the minds and inclinations of the English. Louis XIV. having formerly acknowledged the son of that prince as King of Great Britain, the English Parliament had no longer any hesitation in joining the Dutch, and the other enemies of France. A new and powerful league was formed against Louis. The Emperor, England, the United Provinces, the Empire, the Kings of Portugal and Prussia, and the Duke of Savoy, all joined it in succession. The allies engaged to restore to Austria the Spanish Netherlands, the duchy of Milan, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with the ports of Tuscany; and never to permit the union of France with Spain.

At the commencement of the war, Louis for some time maintained the glory and superiority of his arms, notwithstanding the vast number of adversaries he had to oppose. It was not until the campaign of 1704 that fortune abandoned him; when one reverse was only succeeded by another. The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene defeated Marshal de Tallard at Hochstett or Blenheim, (Aug. 13.) where he lost thirty thousand men, and was himself carried prisoner to England. This disaster was followed by the loss of Bavaria, and all the

French possessions beyond the Rhine. The battle which Marlborough gained (May 23. 1706) at Ramillies in Brabant was not less disastrous; it secured to the allies the conquest of the greater part of the Netherlands; and to increase these misfortunes, Marshal de Marsin lost the famous battle of Turin against Prince Eugene (Sept. 7.), which obliged the French troops to evacuate Italy. The battle which was fought at Oudenarde in Flanders (July 11. 1608) was not so decisive. Both sides fought with equal advantage; but the duke of Burgundy, who was commander-in-chief of the French army, having quitted the field of battle during the night, contrary to the advice of Vendome, Marlborough made this an occasion for claiming the victory.

At length the dreadful winter of 1709, and the battle of Malplaquet, which Marlborough gained over Villars (Sept. 11.), reduced France to the greatest distress, and brought Louis under the necessity of suing for peace, and even descending to the most humiliating conditions. M. de Torcy, his minister for foreign affairs, was despatched to the Hague; and, among a number of preliminary articles, he agreed to make restitution of all the conquests which the French had made since the peace of Munster. He consented to surrender the city of Strasburg, and henceforth to possess Alsace according to the literal terms of the treaty of Munster; the throne of Spain was reserved for the archduke; and Louis consented to abandon the interests of Philip. But the allies, rendered haughty by their success, demanded of the King that he should oblige his grandson voluntarily to surrender his crown, otherwise they would compel him by force of arms, and that within the short space of two

months. The conferences, which had been transferred from the Hague to Gertruydenberg, were consequently broken off, and the war continued.

In this critical state of things, two unexpected events happened, which changed the face of affairs; and Louis XIV., far from being constrained to submit to the articles of the preliminaries at Gertruydenberg, saw himself even courted by England, and in a condition to dictate the law to several of the powers that were leagued against him. The Emperor Joseph I. died (April 11. 1711) without leaving any male offspring. His brother the Archduke Charles, who took the title of King of Spain, now obtained the Imperial dignity, and became heir of all the States belonging to the German branch of the House of Austria. It appeared, therefore, that the system of equilibrium could not possibly admit the same prince to engross likewise the whole Spanish monarchy. This event was coupled with another, relative to the change which had taken place in the ministry and Parliament of Great Britain. The Whigs, who had been the ruling party since the Revolution of 1689, were suddenly supplanted by the Tories. This overthrow brought the Duke of Marlborough into disgrace, who had long stood at the head of affairs in England, as chief of the Whig faction. Queen Anne, who stood in awe of him, found no other expedient for depriving him of his influence, than to make peace with France. L'Abbé Gualtier, who resided at London in quality of almoner to the ambassador of Charles of Austria, was dispatched by her Majesty to France, to make the first overtures of peace to Louis. A secret negotiation was set on foot between the two Courts,

the result of which was a preliminary treaty signed at London (October 8th 1711).

A congress was opened at Utrecht, with the view of a general pacification. The conferences which took place there, after the month of February 1712, met with long interruptions; both on account of the disinclination of several of the allied powers for peace, and because of the matters to be separately treated between France and England, which retarded the progress of the general negotiation. The battle of Denain, which Marshal Villars gained over the Earl of Albemarle (July 24.), helped to render the allies more tractable. Peace was at length signed at Utrecht in the month of April 1713, between France and the chief belligerent powers. The Emperor alone refused to take part in it, as he could not resolve to abandon his claims to the Spanish monarchy.

The grand aim of England in that transaction, was to limit the overwhelming power of France; for this purpose she took care, in that treaty, to establish as a fundamental and inviolable law, the clause which ordained that the kingdoms of France and Spain never should be united. To effect this, it was necessary that Philip of Anjou should formally renounce his right to the crown of France; while his brother the Duke de Berri, as well as the Duke of Orleans, should do the same in regard to the claims which they might advance to the Spanish monarchy. The deeds of these renunciations, drawn up and signed in France and in Spain, in presence of the English ambassadors, were inserted in the treaty of Utrecht; as were also the letters-patent which revoked and annulled those that Louis had given, for preserving the right

of the Duke of Anjou to the succession of the French crown. Louis XIV. promised for himself, his heirs and successors, never to attempt either to prevent or elude the effect of these renunciations; and failing the descendants of Philip, the Spanish succession was secured to the Duke of Savoy, his male descendants, and the other princes of his family, to the exclusion of the French princes.

Another fundamental clause of the treaty of Utrecht bore, that no province, city, fortress or place, in the Spanish Netherlands, should ever be ceded, transferred, or granted to the crown of France; nor to any prince or princess of French extraction, under any title whatever. These provinces, designed to serve as a barrier for the Low Countries against France, were adjudged to the Emperor and the House of Austria, together with the kingdom of Naples, the ports of Tuscany, and the duchy of Milan; and as the Emperor was not a party to the treaty, it was agreed that the Spanish Netherlands should remain as a deposit in the hands of the States-General, until that prince should arrange with them respecting the barrier-towns. The same stipulation was made in regard to that part of the French Netherlands which Louis had ceded in favour of the Emperor; such as Menin, Tournay, Furnes, and Furnes-Ambacht, the fortress of Kenock, Ypres, and their dependencies.

England, in particular, obtained by this treaty various and considerable advantages. Louis XIV. withdrew his protection from the Pretender, and engaged never to give him harbour in France. The

succession to the throne of Great Britain, was guaranteed to the House of Hanover. They agreed to raze the fortifications of the port of Dunkirk, which had so much excited the jealousy of England; while France likewise ceded to her Hudson's Bay, and Straits, the Island of St Christopher, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland in America. Spain gave up Gibraltar and Minorca, both of which had been conquered by the English during the war; they secured to her, besides, for thirty years, the privilege of furnishing negroes for the Spanish American colonies.

The King of Prussia obtained the Spanish part of Gueldres, with the city of that name, and the district of Kessel, in lieu of the principality of Orange, which was given to France; though he had claims to it as the heir of William III. King of England. The kingdom of Sicily was adjudged to the Duke of Savoy, to be possessed by him and his male descendants; and they confirmed to him the grants which the Emperor had made him, of that part of the duchy of Milan which had belonged to the Duke of Mantua, as also Alexandria, Valencia, the Lamelline, and the Valley of Sesia. Finally, Sardinia was reserved for the Elector of Bavaria, the ally of France in that war.

As the Emperor had not acceded to the treaty of Utrecht, the war was continued between him and France. Marshal Villars took Lundau and Friburg in Brisgaw; afterwards a conference took place between him and Prince Eugene at Rastadt. New preliminaries were there drawn up; and a congress was opened at Baden in Switzerland, where a definitive peace was signed (Sept. 7th 1714). The former treaties, since the peace of

Westphalia, were there renewed. The Electors of Cologne and Bavaria, who had been put to the ban of the Empire, and deprived of their estates, were there fully re-established. Sardinia, which had been assigned to the Elector of Bavaria, by the treaty of Utrecht, remained in possession of the Emperor, who likewise recovered Brisach and Freiburg in Brisgaw, instead of Landau which had been ceded to France.

Louis XIV., did not long survive this latter treaty. Never did any sovereign patronize literature and the fine arts like him. Many celebrated academies owe their origin to his auspices, such as the Academy of Inscriptions, Belles-Lettres, Sciences, Painting, and Architecture. His reign was illustrious for eminent men, and talents of every description, which were honoured and encouraged by him. He even extended his favour to the philosophers and literati of foreign countries. This prince has been reproached for his two great partiality to the Jesuits, his confessors, and for the high importance which he attached to the dispute between the Jansenists and the Molinists, which gave rise to the famous Bull *Unigenitus*,² approved by the clergy, and published by the King as a law of the state over all France. This illustrious Prince ended his days after a reign of seventy-two years, fertile in great events; he transmitted the crown to his great grandson, Louis XV., who was only five years of age when he mounted the throne (Sept. 1. 1714).

In the course of this period, several memorable events happened in Germany. The Emperor, Leopold I., having assembled a Diet at Ratisbon, to demand subsidies against the Turks, and to settle certain matters which the preceding Diet had

left undecided, the sittings of that assembly were continued to the present time, without ever having been declared permanent by any formal law of the Empire. The peace of Westphalia, had instituted an eighth Electorate for the Palatine branch of Wittlesbach; the Emperor, Leopold I., erected a ninth, in favour of the younger branch of the House of Brunswick. The first Elector of this family, known by the name of Brunswick-Luneburg, or Hanover, was the Duke Earnest Augustus, whom the Emperor invested in his new dignity, to descend to his heirs-male, on account of his engaging to furnish Austria with supplies in money and troops, for carrying on the war against the Turks. This innovation met with decided opposition in the Empire. Several of the Electors were hostile to it; and the whole body of Princes declared, that the new Electorate was prejudicial to their dignity, and tended to introduce an Electoral Oligarchy. The Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbützel especially protested against the preference which was given to the younger branch of his House over the elder, in spite of family compacts, and the right of primogeniture established in the House of Brunswick.

A confederacy was thus formed against the ninth Electorate. The allied Princes resolved, in an assembly held at Nuremberg, to raise an army, and apply to the powers that had guaranteed the treaty of Westphalia. France espoused the quarrel of these Princes; she concluded with the King of Denmark, a treaty of alliance and subsidy against the ninth Electorate, and declared, before the Diet of the Empire, that she regarded this innovation as a blow aimed at the treaty of Westphalia. In course of time, however, these animosities were

altered. The Princes recognised the ninth Electorate, and the introduction of the new Elector took place in 1708. A decree was passed at the Diet, which annexed a clause to his admission, that the Catholic Electors should have the privilege of a casting vote, in cases where the number of Protestant Electors should happen to equal that of the Catholics. By the same decree, the King of Bohemia, who had formerly never been admitted but at the election of the Emperors, obtained a voice in all the deliberations of the Empire and the Electoral College, on condition of his paying, in time coming, an Electoral quota for the kingdom of Bohemia.

The Imperial capitulations assumed a form entirely new, about the beginning of the eighteenth century. A difference had formerly existed among the members of the Germanic body on this important article of public law. They regarded it as a thing illegal, that the Electors alone should claim the right of drawing up the capitulations; and they maintained, with much reason, that before these compacts should have the force of a fundamental law of the Empire, it was necessary that they should have the deliberation and consent of the whole Diet. The Princes therefore, demanded, that there should be laid before the Diet a scheme of perpetual capitulation, to serve as a rule for the Electors on every new election. That question had already been debated at the Congress of Westphalia, and sent back by it for the decision of the Diet. There it became the subject of long discussion; and it was not till the interregnum, which followed the death of the Emperor Joseph I., that the principal points of the perpetual capi-

tulation were finally settled. The plan then agreed to was adopted as the basis of the capitulation, which they prescribed to Charles VI. and his successors. Among other articles, a clause was inserted regarding the election of a king of the Romans. This, it was agreed, should never take place during the Emperor's life, except in a case of urgent necessity; and that the prescription of an elector, prince, or state of the Empire, should never take place, without the consent of the Diet, and observing the formalities enjoined by the new capitulation.

There were three Electoral families of the Empire who were raised to the royal dignity; viz. those of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Brunswick-Luneburg. Augustus II., Elector of Saxony, after having made a profession of the Catholic religion, was elected to the throne of Poland; a dignity which was afterwards conferred, also by election, on his son Augustus III. That change of religion did not prevent the Electors of Saxony from remaining at the head of the Protestant interest in the Diet of the Empire, as they had given them assurance that they would make no innovations in the religion of their country, and that they would appoint a council entirely composed of Protestant members, for administering the affairs of the Empire. These princes, however, lost part of their influence; and so far was the crown of Poland, which was purely elective, from augmenting the greatness and real power of their house, that, on the contrary, it served to exhaust and enfeeble Saxony, by involving it in ruinous wars, which ended in the desolation of that fine country, the

alienation of the Electoral domains, and the increase of the debts and burdens of the state.

If the royal dignity of Poland was prejudicial to the House of Saxony, it was by no means so to Prussia, which the House of Brandenburg acquired soon after. The Elector, John Sigismund, on succeeding to the duchy of Prussia, had acknowledged himself a vassal and tributary of the crown of Poland. His grandson, Frederic William, took advantage of the turbulent situation in which Poland was placed at the time of the invasion of Charles X. of Sweden, to obtain a grant of the sovereignty of Prussia, by a treaty which he concluded with that Republic at Welau (19th September 1657). Poland, in renouncing the territorial rights which she exercised over Ducal Prussia, stipulated for the reversion of these same rights, on the extinction of the male line of the Electoral House of Brandenburg.

Frederic I., the son and successor of Frederic William, having become sovereign of Ducal Prussia, thought himself authorized to assume the royal dignity. The elevation of his cousin-german, the Prince of Orange, to the throne of Britain, and of his next neighbour, the Elector of Saxony, to the sovereignty of Poland, tempted his ambition, and induced him to enter into a negotiation on the subject with the Court of Vienna. The Emperor Leopold promised to acknowledge him as King of Prussia, on account of a supply of ten thousand men which Frederic promised to furnish him in the war of the Spanish Succession, which was then commencing. To remove all apprehensions on the part of Poland, who might perhaps offer some opposition, the Elector signed a reversal, bearing, that

the royal dignity of Prussia should in no way prejudice the rights and possession of the King and States of Poland over Polish Prussia; that neither he nor his successors should attempt to found claims on that part of Prussia; and that the clause in the treaty of Welau, which secured the reversion of the territorial right of Ducal Prussia, on the extinction of the heirs-male of Frederic William, should remain in full force and vigour, never to be infringed by the new King or any of his successors. After these different conventions, the Elector repaired to Coningsberg, where he was proclaimed King of Prussia (18th January 1701). It is worthy of remark, that on the ceremony of his coronation, he put the crown on his own head.

All the European powers acknowledged the new King, with the exception of France and Spain, with whom he soon engaged in war. The Teutonic Knights, bearing in mind their ancient claims over Prussia, deemed it their duty to support them by a protest, and their example was followed by the Court of Rome. Nothing is so remarkable as the opinion which the author of the *Memoirs of Brandenburg* delivers on this event. "Frederic," says he, "was flattered with nothing so much, as the externals of royalty, the pomp of ostentation, and a certain whimsical self-conceit, which was pleased with making others feel their inferiority. What at first was the mere offspring of vanity, turned out in the end to be a masterpiece of policy. The royal dignity liberated the House of Brandenburg from that yoke of servitude under which Austria had, till then, held all the Princes of Germany. It was a kind of bait which Frederic held out to all his posterity, and by which he seemed to say, I have acquired for

you a title, render yourselves worthy of it; I have laid the foundation of your greatness, yours is the task of completing the structure." In fact Austria, by promoting the House of Brandenburg, seemed to have injured her own greatness. In the very bosom of the Empire, she raised up a new power, which afterwards became her rival, and seized every opportunity of aggrandisement at her expense.

As for the Electoral House of Brunswick-Luneburg, it succeeded, as we have observed, to the throne of Great Britain, in virtue of a fundamental law of that monarchy, which admitted females to the succession of the crown. Ernest Augustus, the first Elector of the Hanoverian line, had married Sophia, daughter of the Elector Palatine Frederic V., by the Princess Elizabeth of England, daughter of James I., King of Great Britain. An act of the British Parliament in 1701, extended the succession to that Princess, then Electress-Dowager of Hanover, and to her descendants, as being nearest heirs to the throne, according to the order established by former acts of Parliament, limiting the succession to Princes and Princesses of the Protestant line only. The Electress Sophia, by that act, was called to the succession, in case William III., and Anne, the youngest daughter of James II., left no issue; an event which took place in 1714, on the death of Anne, who had succeeded William in the kingdom of Great Britain. The Electress Sophia was not alive at that time, having died two months before that princess. George, Elector of Hanover, and son of Sophia by Ernest Augustus, then mounted the British

throne (Aug. 12. 1714), to the exclusion of all the other descendants of Elizabeth, who, though they had the right of precedence, were excluded by being Catholics, in virtue of the Acts of Parliament 1689, 1701, 1705.

The war of the Spanish Succession had occasioned great changes in Italy. Spain, after having been long the leading power in that country, gave place to Austria, to whom the treaties of Utrecht and Baden had adjudged the duchy of Milan, the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, and the parts of Tuscany. To these she added the duchy of Mantua, of which the Emperor Joseph I. had dispossessed Duke Charles IV. of the House of Gonzaga, for having espoused the cause of France in the War of the Succession. The Duke of Milan-dola met with a similar fate, as the ally of the French in that war. His duchy was confiscated by the Emperor, and sold to the Duke of Modena. This new aggrandisement of Austria in Italy excited the jealousy of England, lest the princes of that house should take occasion to revive their obsolete claims to the royalty of Italy and the Imperial dignity; and it was this which induced the Court of London to favour the elevation of the Dukes of Savoy, in order to counterbalance the power of Austria in Italy.

The origin of the House of Savoy is as old as the beginning of the eleventh century, when we find a person named Berthold in possession of Savoy, at that time a province of the kingdom of Burgundy or Arles. The grandson of Berthold married Adelaide de Sûza, daughter and heiress of Mainfroi, Marquis of Italy and Lord of Susa. This marriage brought the House of Savoy con-

valuable possessions in Italy, such as the Marquisate of Suza, the Duchy of Turin, Piedmont, and Val d'Aoste (1097). Humbert II. Count of Savoy, conquered the province of Tarentum. Thomas, one of his successors, acquired by marriage the barony of Faucigny. Amadeus V. was invested by the Emperor Henry VII. in the city and county of Asti. Amadeus VII. received the voluntary submission of the inhabitants of Nice, which he had dismembered from Provence, together with the counties of Tenda and Beglio; having taken advantage of the intestine dissensions in that country, and the conflict between the factions of Duras and Anjou, who disputed the succession of Naples and the county of Provence. Amadeus VIII. purchased from Otho de Villars the county of Geneva, and was created, by the Emperor Sigismund, first Duke of Savoy (Feb. 19. 1416).

The rivalry which had subsisted between France and Austria since the end of the fifteenth century, placed the House of Savoy in a situation extremely difficult. Involved in the wars which had arisen between these two powers in Italy, it became of necessity more than once the victim of political circumstances. Duke Charles III. having allied himself with Charles V., was deprived of his estates by France; and his son Philibert, noted for his exploits in the campaigns of Flanders, did not obtain restitution of them until the peace of Chateau-Cambresis. The Dukes Charles Emanuel II., and Victor Amadeus II., experienced similar indignities, in the wars which agitated France and Spain during the seventeenth century, and which were terminated by the treaties of the Pyrenees and Turin in the years 1659, 1696. In the war of

the Spanish Succession, Victor Amadeus H. declared at first for his son-in-law, Philip King of Spain, even taking upon himself the chief command of the French army in Italy; but afterwards, perceiving the danger of his situation, and seduced by the advantageous offers which the Emperor made him, he thought proper to alter his plan, and joined the grand alliance against France. Savoy and Piedmont again became the theatre of the war between France and Italy. The French having undertaken the siege of Turin, the Duke and Prince Eugene forced their army in its entrenchments before the place, and obliged them to abandon Italy. The Emperor granted the Duke the investiture of the different estates which he had secured to him, on his accession to the grand alliance; such as Montferrat, the provinces of Alexandria and Valenois, the country between the Tanaro and the Po, the Lamelline, Val Sessia, and the Vigevanesco; to be possessed by him and his male descendants, as fiefs holding of the Emperor and the Empire.

The peace of Utrecht confirmed these possessions to the Duke; and England, the better to secure the equilibrium of Italy and Europe, granted him, by that treaty, the royal dignity, with the island of Sicily, which she had taken from Spain. That island was ceded to him under the express clause, that, on the extinction of the male line of Savoy, that kingdom should revert to Spain. By the same treaty they secured to the male descendants of that house, the right of succession to the Spanish monarchy; and that clause was confirmed by a solemn law passed in the Cortes of Spain, and by subsequent treaties concluded between these powers and Europe. The duke was crown-

ed King of Spain at Palermo (Dec. 31. 1713), by the archbishop of that city; and the only persons who refused to acknowledge him in that new capacity were the Emperor and the Pope.

In proportion as France increased, Spain had declined in power, in consequence of the vices of her government, the feebleness of her princes, and the want of qualifications in their ministers and favourites. At length, under the reign of Charles II., the weakness of that monarchy was such, that France despoiled her with impunity, as appears by these cessions she was obliged to make by the treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle, Nimeguen, and Ryswick. Charles II. was the last prince of the Spanish line of the house of Austria. At his death (Nov. 1700), a long and bloody war ensued about the succession, as we have already related. Two competitors appeared for the crown. Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., had on his side the will of Charles II., the efforts of his grandfather, and the wishes of the Spanish nation. Charles of Austria, younger son of the Emperor Leopold I., was supported by a formidable league, which political considerations and a jealousy of the other powers had raised against France.

Philip, who had been placed on the throne by the Spaniards, had already resided at Madrid for several years, when the Austrian prince, his rival, assisted by the allied fleet, took possession of Barcelona (Oct. 9. 1705), where he established his capital. The incessant defeats which France experienced at this period, obliged Philip twice to abandon his capital, and seek his safety in flight. He owed his restoration for the first time to Marshal Berwick,

and the victory which that general gained over the allies near Almanza, in New Castille (April 25. 1707). The archduke having afterwards advanced as far as Madrid, the Duke de Vendome undertook to repulse him. That General, in conjunction with Philip V., defeated the allies, who were commanded by General Starhemberg, near Villa Viciosa (Dec. 10. 1710). These two victories contributed to establish Philip on his throne. The death of Joseph I., which happened soon after, and the elevation of his brother, the Archduke Charles, to the Imperial throne and the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, accelerated the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht, by which the Spanish monarchy was preserved to Philip V. and his descendants. They deprived him, however, in virtue of that treaty, of the Netherlands and the Spanish possessions in Italy, such as the Milanais, the ports of Tuscany, and the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia.

The conditions which England had exacted at the treaty of Utrecht, to render effectual the renunciation of Philip V. to the crown of France, as well as that of the French princes to the monarchy of Spain, having made it necessary to assemble the Cortes or States-General, Philip took advantage of that circumstance to change the order of succession which till then had subsisted in Spain, and which was known by the name of the *Castilian Succession*. A law was passed at the Cortes (1713), by which it was ordained that females should never be admitted to the crown, except in default of the male line of Philip; that the male heirs should succeed according to the order of primogeniture; that, failing the male line of that prince, the crown should fall to the eldest daughter of the last reign-

ing king, and her descendants ; and, failing them, to the sister or nearest relation of the last king ; always keeping in force the right of primogeniture, and the preference of the male heirs in the order of succession.

France, by the sixtieth article of the treaty of the Pyrenees, having renounced the protection of Portugal, the war between Spain and this latter power was resumed with new vigour. Alphonso VI., King of Portugal, finding himself abandoned by his allies, resolved to throw himself on the favour of England. The English granted him supplies, in virtue of a treaty which he concluded with them (June 28. 1661), and by which he ceded to them the city of Tangiers in Africa, and the isle of Bombay in India. France, who well knew that it was her interest not to abandon Portugal entirely, rendered her likewise all the secret assistance in her power. The Count Schomberg passed over to that kingdom with a good number of officers, and several companies of French troops. The Portuguese, under the command of that General, gained two victories over the Spaniards at Almedia, near Estremoz (1663), and at Montes Claros, or Villa Viciosa (1665), which reestablished their affairs, and contributed to secure the independence of Portugal. When the war took place about the Right of Devolution, the court of Lisbon formed a new alliance with France. Spain then learned that it would be more for her interest to abandon her projects of conquering Portugal, and accept the proposals of accommodation tendered to her by the mediation of England.

It happened, in the meantime, that Alphonso VI., a prince of vicious habits, and of a ferocious

and brutal temper, was dethroned (Nov. 23. 1667), and the Infant Don Pedro, his brother, was declared Regent of the kingdom. The Queen of Alphonso, Mary of Savoy, who had managed the whole intrigue, obtained, from the Court of Rome, a dissolution of her marriage with Alphonso, and espoused the Regent, her brother-in-law (April 2. 1668). That prince would willingly have fulfilled the engagements which his predecessor had contracted with France, but the English Ambassador having drawn over the Cortes of Portugal to his interests, the Regent was obliged to make peace with Spain, which was signed at Lisbon, February 13th 1668. The Spaniards there treated with the Portuguese as a sovereign and independent nation. They agreed to make mutual restitution of all they had taken possession of during the war, with the exception of the city of Ceuta in Africa, which remained in the power of Spain. The subjects of both states obtained the restoration of all property alienated or confiscated during the war. That peace was followed by another, which Portugal concluded at the Hague, with the United Provinces of the Netherlands (July 31. 1669), who were permitted to retain the conquests they had made from the Portuguese in the East Indies.

The Court of Lisbon was soon after involved in the war of the Spanish Succession which divided all Europe. Don Pedro II. had at first acknowledged Philip V., and even contracted an alliance with him; but yielding afterwards to the influence of the British minister, as well as of the Court of Vienna, he joined the Grand Alliance against France.³ The Portuguese made a distinguished figure in that war, chiefly during the cam-

paing of 1706, when, with the assistance of the English, they penetrated as far as Madrid, and there proclaimed Charles of Austria.

The Portuguese, by one of the articles of their treaty of accession to the grand alliance, had been given to expect, that certain important places in Spanish Estremadura and Galicia would be ceded to them at the general peace. That engagement was never fulfilled. The treaty of peace, concluded at Utrecht (6th February 1715), between Spain and Portugal, had ordered the mutual restitution of all conquests made during the war. The treaty of Lisbon, of 1668, was then renewed, and especially the articles which stipulated for the restitution of all confiscated property. The only point which they yielded to the Portuguese, was that which referred to the colony of St Sacramento, which the Portuguese governor of Rio Janeiro had established (1680) on the northern bank of the river La Plata, in South America, which was opposed by Spain. By the sixth article of her treaty with Portugal, she renounced all her former claims and pretensions over the above colony.

A similar dispute had arisen between France and Portugal, relative to the northern bank of the Amazons river, and the territories about Cape North, in America, which the French maintained belonged to them, as making part of French Guiana. The Portuguese having constructed there the fort of Macapa, it was taken by the French governor of Cayenne. By the treaty of Utrecht, it was agreed between France and Portugal that both banks of the river Amazons should belong entirely to Portugal; and that France should renounce all right and pretensions whatever to the

territories of Cape North, lying between the rivers Amazons and Japoc, or Vincent Pinson, in South America.

In England, an interregnum of eleven years followed the death of Charles I. Oliver Cromwell, the leader of the Independent party, passed two Acts of Parliament, one of which abolished the House of Lords, and the other the royal dignity. The kingly office was suppressed, as useless to the nation, oppressive and dangerous to the interests and liberties of the people; and it was decided, that whoever should speak of the restoration of the Stuarts, should be regarded as a traitor to his country. The kingdom being thus changed into a republic, Cromwell took on himself the chief direction of affairs. This ambitious man was not long in monopolizing the sovereign authority (1653). He abolished the Parliament called the *Rump*, which had conferred on him his power and military commission. He next assembled a new Parliament of the three kingdoms, to the number of one hundred and forty-four members; and he took care to have it composed of individuals whom he knew to be devoted to his interests. Accordingly, they resigned the whole authority into his hands. An act, called the Act of Government, conferred on him the supreme authority, under the title of Protector of the three kingdoms; with the privilege of making war and peace, and assembling every three years a Parliament, which should exercise the legislative power conjointly with himself.

Cromwell governed England with a more uncontrolled power than that of her own kings had been. In 1651, he passed the famous Navigation

Act, which contributed to increase the commerce of Great Britain, and gave her marine a preponderance over that of all other nations. That extraordinary man raised England in the estimation of foreigners, and made his Protectorate be respected by all Europe. After a war which he had carried on against the Dutch, he obliged them, by the treaty of Westminster (1654), to lower their flag to British vessels, and to abandon the cause of the Stuarts. Entering into alliance with France against Spain, he took from the latter the island of Jamaica (1655) and the port of Dunkirk (1658).

After his death, the Generals of the army combined to restore the old Parliament, called the Rump. Richard Cromwell, who succeeded his father, soon resigned the Protectorate (April 22. 1659). Dissensions having arisen between the Parliament and the Generals, Monk, who was governor of Scotland, marched to the assistance of the Parliament; and after having defeated the Independent Generals, he proceeded to assemble a new Parliament composed of both Houses. No sooner was this Parliament assembled, than they decided for the restoration of the Stuarts, in the person of Charles II. (18th May 1660).

That Prince made his public entry into London, in the month of May 1660. His first care was to take vengeance on those who had been chiefly instrumental in the death of his father. He rescinded all Acts of Parliament passed since the year 1633; and re-established Episcopacy both in England and Scotland. Instigated by his propensity for absolute power, and following the maxims which he had imbibed from his predecessors, he adopted measures which were

opposed by the Parliament ; and even went so far as more than once to pronounce their dissolution. His reign, in consequence, was a scene of faction and agitation, which proved the forerunners of a new revolution. ⁴ The appellation of *Whigs* and *Tories*, so famous in English history, took its rise about this time. We could almost, however, pardon Charles for his faults and irregularities, in consideration of the benevolence and amiableness of his character. But it was otherwise with James II., who succeeded his brother on the British throne (16th Feb. 1685). That Prince alienated the minds of his subjects by his haughty demeanour, and his extravagant zeal for the church of Rome, and the Jesuits his confessors. Scarcely was he raised to the throne, when he undertook to change the religion of his country, and to govern still more despotically than his brother had done. Encouraged by Louis XIV., who offered him money and troops, he was the first King of England that had kept on foot an army in time of peace, and caused the legislature to decide, that the King can dispense with the laws. Availing himself of this decision, he dispensed with the several statutes issued against the Catholics ; he permitted them the public exercise of their religion within the three kingdoms, and gradually gave them a preference in all places of trust. At length, he even solicited the Pope to send a nuncio to reside at his Court ; and on the arrival of Ferdinand Dada, to whom Innocent XI. had confided this mission, he gave him a public and solemn entry to Windsor (1687). Seven bishops, who had refused to publish the declaration respecting Ca-

tholics, were treated as guilty of sedition, and imprisoned by his order in the Tower.

During these transactions, the Queen, Mary of Modena, happened to be delivered of a Prince (20th June 1688), known in history by the name of the Pretender. As her Majesty had had no children for more than six years, it was not difficult to gain credit to a report, that the young Prince was a spurious child. James II., by his first marriage with Anne Hyde, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon, had two daughters, both Protestants; and regarded, till then, as heirs to the crown. Mary, the eldest, was married to William, Prince of Orange, and Anne, the youngest, to George, younger son of Frederic III., King of Denmark. The English Protestants had flattered themselves that all their wrongs and misfortunes would terminate with the death of James II. and the accession of the Princess of Orange to the throne. Being disappointed in these expectations by the birth of the Prince of Wales, their only plan was to dethrone the King. The Tories even joined with the Whigs in offering the crown to the Prince of Orange. William III., supported by the Dutch fleet, made a descent on England, and landed fifteen thousand men at Torbay (5th November 1688), without experiencing the smallest resistance on the part of James, who, seeing himself abandoned by the military, took the resolution of withdrawing to France, where he had already sent his Queen and his son, the young Prince of Wales. He afterwards returned to Ireland, where he had a strong party; but being conquered by William at the battle of

the Boyne (11th July 1690), he was obliged to return to France, where he ended his days.

Immediately after the flight of James, the Parliament of England declared, by an act, that as he had violated the fundamental law of the constitution, and abandoned the kingdom, the throne was become vacant. They, therefore, unanimously conferred the crown on William III., Prince of Orange, and Mary his spouse (Feb. 22. 1689); intrusting the administration of affairs to the Prince alone. In redressing the grievances of the nation, they set new limits to the royal authority. By an Act, called the *Declaration of Rights*, they decreed, that the King could neither suspend, nor dispense with the laws; that he could institute no new courts, nor levy money under any pretence whatever, nor maintain an army in time of peace, without the consent of Parliament. Episcopacy was abolished in Scotland (1694), and the liberty of the press sanctioned. The succession of the crown was regulated by different Acts of Parliament, one of which fixed it in the Protestant line, to the exclusion of Catholics. Next after William and Mary and their descendants, was the Princess Anne and her descendants. A subsequent Act conferred the succession on the House of Hanover (1701), under the following conditions:—That the King or Queen of that family, on their accession to the throne, should be obliged to conform to the High Church, and the laws of 1689; that without the consent of Parliament, they should never engage the nation in any war for the defence of their hereditary dominions, nor go out of the kingdom; and that they should never appoint foreigners to offices of trust.

The rivalry between France and England assumed a higher tone under the reign of William III.; and was increased by the powerful efforts which France was making to improve her marine, and extend her navigation and her commerce. The colonies which she founded in America and the Indies, by bringing the two nations more into contact, tended to foment their jealousies, and multiply subjects of discord and division between them. From that time England eagerly seized every occasion for occupying France on the Continent of Europe; and the whole policy of William, as we have seen, had no other aim than to thwart the ambitious views of Louis XIV. If this rivalry excited and prolonged wars which inflicted many calamities on the world, it became likewise a powerful stimulus for the contending nations to develop their whole faculties; to make the highest attainments in the sciences, of which they were susceptible; and to carry arts and civilization to the remotest countries in the world.

William III. was succeeded by Anne. It was in her reign that the grand union between England and Scotland was accomplished, which incorporated them into one kingdom, by means of the same order of succession, and only one Parliament. That Princess had the honour of maintaining the balance of Europe against France, by the clauses which she got inserted into the treaty of Utrecht. At her death (12th August 1714), the throne of Great Britain passed to George I., the Elector of Hanover, whose mother, Sophia, derived her right to the British throne from James I., her maternal grandfather.

The power and political influence of the United

Provinces of the Netherlands had increased every day, since Spain acknowledged their independence by the treaty of Munster (1648). Their extensive commerce to all parts of the globe, and their flourishing marine, attracted the admiration of all Europe. Sovereigns courted their alliance ; and the Hague, the capital of the States-General, became, in course of time, the centre of European politics. That Republic was the rival of England in all her commercial relations ; and she ventured also to dispute with her the empire of the sea, by refusing to lower her flag to British vessels. These disputes gave rise to bloody wars between the two States, in which the famous Dutch Admirals, Tromp and De Ruyter, distinguished themselves by their maritime exploits. De Ruyter entered the Thames with the Dutch fleet (1667), advanced to Chatham, burnt the vessels in the roads there, and threw the city of London into great consternation. Nevertheless, by the treaties of Breda (1667) and Westminster (1674), they agreed that their vessels and fleets should lower their flag when they met either one or more ships carrying the British flag, and that over all the sea, from Cape Finisterre in Galicia, to the centre of Statt in Norway ; but the States-General preserved Surinam, which they had conquered during the war ; and at the treaty of commerce which was signed at Breda, the Navigation Act was modified in their favour, in so far that the produce and merchandise of Germany were to be considered as productions of the soil of the Republic.

It was during these wars that a change took place with regard to the Stadtholdership of the United Provinces. William II., Prince of Orange,

had alienated the hearts of his subjects by his attempts against their liberties; and having, at his death, left his wife, the daughter of Charles I. of England, pregnant of a son (1650), the States-General took the opportunity of leaving that office vacant, and taking upon themselves the direction of affairs. The suspicions which the House of Orange had excited in Cromwell by their alliance with the Stuarts, and the resentment of John de Witt, Pensionary of Holland, against the Stadtholder, caused a secret article to be added to the treaty of Westminster, by which the States of Holland and West Friesland engaged never to elect William, the posthumous son of William II., to be Stadtholder; and never to allow that the office of Captain-General of the Republic should be conferred on him. John de Witt likewise framed a regulation known by the name of the *Perpetual Edict*, which separated the Stadtholdership from the office of Captain and Admiral-General, and which enacted, that these functions should never be discharged by the same individual. Having failed, however, in his efforts to make the States-General adopt this regulation, which they considered as contrary to the union, John de Witt contented himself with obtaining the approbation of the States of Holland, who even went so far as to sanction the entire suppression of the Stadtholdership.

Matters continued in this situation until the time when Louis XIV. invaded Holland. His alarming progress caused a revolution in favour of the Prince of Orange. The ruling faction, at the head of which was John de Witt, then lost the

good opinion of the people. He was accused of having neglected military affairs, and left the State without defence, and a prey to the enemy. The first signal of revolution was given by the small town of Veere in Zealand. William was there proclaimed Stadtholder (June 1672), and the example of Veere was soon followed by all the cities of Holland and Zealand. Everywhere the people compelled the magistrates to confer the Stadtholdership on the young Prince. The Perpetual Edict was abolished, and the Stadtholdership confirmed to William III. by the Assembly of States. They even rendered this dignity, as well as the office of Captain-General, hereditary to all the male and legitimate descendants of the Prince. It was on this occasion that the two brothers, John and Cornelius de Witt, were massacred by the people assembled at the Hague.

After William was raised to the throne of Great Britain, he still retained the Stadtholdership, with the offices of Captain and Admiral-General of the Republic. England and Holland, united under the jurisdiction of the same prince, acted thenceforth in concert to thwart the ambitious designs of Louis XIV.; and he felt the effects of their power chiefly in the war of the Spanish Succession, when England and the States-General made extraordinary efforts to maintain the balance of the Continent, which they thought in danger. It was in consideration of these efforts that they guaranteed to the Dutch, by the treaty of the Grand Alliance, as well as by that of Utrecht, a barrier against France, which was more amply defined by the *Barrier Treaty*, signed at Antwerp (15th November 1715), under the mediation and guaranty

of Great Britain. The provinces and towns of the Netherlands, both those that had been possessed by Charles II., and those that France had surrendered by the treaty of Utrecht, were transferred to the Emperor and the House of Austria, on condition that they should never be ceded under any title whatever; neither to France, nor to any other prince except the heirs and successors of the House of Austria in Germany. It was agreed that there should always be kept in the Low Countries a body of Austrian troops, from thirty to thirty-five thousand men, of which the Emperor was to furnish three-fifths, and the States-General the remainder. Finally, the States-General were allowed a garrison, entirely composed of their own troops, in the cities and castles of Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, and the fortress of Kenock; while the Emperor engaged to contribute a certain sum annually for the maintenance of these troops.

Switzerland, since the confirmation of her liberty and independence by the peace of Westphalia, had constantly adhered to the system of neutrality which she had adopted; and taken no part in the broils of her neighbours, except by furnishing troops to those powers with whom she was in alliance. The fortunate inability which was the natural consequence of her union, pointed out this line of conduct, and even induced the European States to respect the Helvetic neutrality.

This profound peace, which Switzerland enjoyed by means of that neutrality, was never interrupted; except by occasional domestic quarrels, which arose from the difference of their religious opinions. . . . Certain families, from the canton of

Schweitz, had fled to Zurich on account of their religious tenets, and had been protected by that republic. This stirred up a war (1656) between the Catholic cantons and the Zurichers, with their allies the Bernese; but it was soon terminated by the peace of Baden, which renewed the clauses of the treaty of 1531, relative to these very subjects of dispute. Some attempts having afterwards been made against liberty of conscience, in the county of Toggenburg, by the Abbé of St Gall, a new war broke out (1712), between five of the Catholic cantons, and the two Protestant cantons of Zurich and Berne. These latter expelled the Abbé of St Gall from his estates, and dispossessed the Catholics of the county of Baden, with a considerable part of the free bailiwicks, which were granted to them by the treaty concluded at Araw. The Abbé then saw himself abandoned by the Catholic cantons; and it was only in virtue of a treaty, which he concluded with Zurich and Berne (1718), that his successor obtained his restoration.

Sweden, during the greater part of this period, supported the first rank among the powers of the North. The vigour of her government, added to the weakness of her neighbours, and the important advantages which the treaties of Stolbova, Stumsdorf, Bromsbro, and Westphalia had procured her, secured this superiority; and gave her the same influence in the North that France held in the South. Christina, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, held the reigns of government in Sweden about the middle of the sixteenth century; but to gratify her propensity for the fine arts, she resolved to abdicate the crown (1654). Charles Gustavus, Count Palatine of Deux-Ponts, her cousin-

german, succeeded her, under the title of Charles X. Being nurtured in the midst of arms; and ambitious only of wars and battles, he was anxious to distinguish himself on the throne. John Casimir, King of Poland, having provoked him, by protesting against his accession to the crown of Sweden, Charles made this an occasion of breaking the treaty of Stumshof, which was still in force, and invaded Poland. Assisted by Frederic William, the Elector of Brandenburg, whom he had attached to his interests, he gained a splendid victory over the Poles near Warsaw (July 1658). At that crisis, the fate of Poland would have been decided, if the Czar, Alexis Michaelovitz, who was also at war with the Poles, had chosen to make common cause with her new enemies; but Alexis thought it more for his advantage to conclude a truce with the Poles, and attack the Swedes in Livonia, Ingria, and Carelia. The Emperor Leopold and the King of Denmark followed the example of the Czar; and the Elector of Brandenburg, after obtaining the sovereignty of the duchy of Prussia, by the treaty which he concluded with Poland at Welau, acceded in like manner to this league,—the object of which was to secure the preservation of Poland, and maintain the equilibrium of the North.

Attacked by so many and such powerful enemies, the King of Sweden determined to withdraw his troops from Poland, and direct his principal force against Denmark. Having made himself master of Holstein, Sleswick, and Jutland, he passed the Belts on the ice (January 1658) with his army and artillery, and advanced towards the capital of the kingdom. This bold step intimidated the

Danes so much, that they submitted to those exceedingly severe conditions which Charles made them sign at Roschild (February 1658). Scarcely was this treaty concluded, when the King of Sweden broke it anew; and under different pretexts, laid siege to Copenhagen. His intention was, if he had carried that place, to raze it to the ground, to annihilate the kingdom of Denmark, and fix his residence in the province of Schonen, where he could maintain his dominion over the North and the Baltic. The besieged Danes, however, made a vigorous defence, and they were encouraged by the example of Frederic III., who superintended in person the whole operations of the siege; nevertheless, they must certainly have yielded, had not the Dutch, who were alarmed for their commerce in the Baltic, sent a fleet to the assistance of Denmark. These republicans fought an obstinate naval battle with the Swedes in the Sound (29th October 1658). The Swedish fleet was repulsed, and the Dutch succeeded in relieving Copenhagen, by throwing in a supply of provisions and ammunition.

The King of Sweden persisted, nevertheless, in his determination to reduce that capital. He was not even intimidated by the treaties which France, England, and Holland, had concluded at the Hague, for maintaining the equilibrium of the North; but a premature death, at the age of thirty-eight, put an end to his ambitious projects (23d February 1660). The regents who governed the kingdom during the minority of his son Charles XI., immediately set on foot negotiations with all the powers that were in league against Sweden. By the peace which they concluded at Copenhagen with

Denmark (July 3. 1660), they surrendered to that crown several of their late conquests; reserving to themselves only the provinces of Schonen, Bleckingen, Halland, and Bohus. The Duke of Holstien-Gottorp, the protégé of Charles X., was secured by that treaty in the sovereignty of that part of Sleswick, which had been guaranteed to him by a former treaty concluded at Copenhagen. The war with Poland, and her allies the Elector of Brandenburg and the Emperor, was terminated by the peace of Oliva (May 3d. 1660). The King of Poland gave up his pretensions to the crown of Sweden; while the former ceded to the latter the provinces of Livonia and Esthonia, and the islands belonging to them; to be possessed on the same terms that had been agreed on at the treaty of Stunsdorf in 1635. The Duke of Courland was reestablished in his duchy, and the sovereignty of ducal Prussia confirmed to the House of Brandenburg. Peace between Sweden and Russia was concluded at Kardis in Esthonia; while the latter power surrendered to Sweden all the places which she had conquered in Livonia.

Sweden was afterwards drawn into the war against the Dutch by Louis XIV., when she experienced nothing but disasters. She was deprived of all her provinces in the Empire, and only regained possession of them in virtue of the treaties of Zell, Nimeguen, St Germain-en-Laye, Fontainebleau, and Lunden (1679), which she concluded successively with the powers in league against France. Immediately after that peace, a revolution happened in the government of Sweden. The abuse which the nobles made of their privileges, the extravagant authority claimed by the senate;

and the different methods which the grandees employed for gradually usurping the domains of the crown, had excited the jealousy of the other orders of the state. It is alleged, that John Baron Gillenstiern, had suggested to Charles XI. the idea of taking advantage of this discontent to augment the royal authority, and humble the arrogance of the senate and the nobility. In compliance with his advice, the King assembled the Estates of the kingdom at Stockholm (1680); and having quartered some regiments of his own guards in the city, he took care to remove such of the nobles as might give the greatest cause of apprehension. An accusation was lodged at the Diet against those ministers who had conducted the administration during the King's minority. To them were attributed the calamities and losses of the state, and for these they were made responsible. The Senate was also implicated. They were charged with abusing their authority; and it was proposed that the States should make investigation, whether the powers which the Senate had assumed were conformable to the laws of the kingdom. The States declared that the King was not bound by any other form of government than that which the constitution prescribed; that the Senate formed neither a fifth order, nor an intermediate power between the King and the States; and that it ought to be held simply as a Council, with whom the King might consult and advise.

A *College of Reunion* was also established at this Diet, for the purpose of making inquiry as to the lands granted, sold, mortgaged, or exchanged by preceding Kings, either in Sweden or Livonia; with an offer on the part of the crown to reim-

burse the proprietors for such sums as they had originally paid for them. This proceeding made a considerable augmentation to the revenues of the crown; but a vast number of proprietors were completely ruined by it. A subsequent diet went even further than that of 1680. They declared, by statute, that though the King was enjoined to govern his dominions according to the laws, this did not take from him the power of altering these laws. At length the act of 1693 decreed that the King was absolute master, and sole depository of the sovereign power; without being responsible for his actions to any power on earth; and that he was entitled to govern the kingdom according to his will and pleasure.

It was in virtue of these different enactments and concessions, that the absolute power which had been conferred on Charles XI., was transmitted to the hands of his son Charles XII., who was only fifteen years of age when he succeeded his father (April 1. 1697). By the abuse which this Prince made of these dangerous prerogatives, he plunged Sweden into an abyss of troubles; and brought her down from that high rank which she had occupied in the political system of Europe, since the reign of Gustavus Adolphus. The youth of Charles appeared to his neighbours to afford them a favourable opportunity for recovering what they had lost by the conquests of his predecessors. Augustus II., King of Poland, being desirous to regain Livonia, and listening to the suggestions of a Livonian gentleman, named John Patkul, who had been proscribed in Sweden, he set on foot a negotiation with the courts of Russia and Copenhagen; the result of

which was, a secret and offensive alliance concluded between these three powers against Sweden (1699). Peter the Great, who had just conquered Azoff on the Black Sea, and equipped his first fleet; was desirous also to open up the coasts of the Baltic, of which his predecessors had been dispossessed by Sweden. War accordingly broke out in course of the year 1700. The King of Poland invaded Livonia; the Danes fell upon Sleeswick, where they attacked the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, the ally of Sweden; while the Czar, at the head of an army of eighty thousand men, laid siege to the city of Narva.

The King of Sweden, attacked by so many enemies at once, directed his first efforts against Denmark, where the danger appeared most pressing. Assisted by the fleets of England and Holland, who had guaranteed the last peace, he made a descent on the Isle of Zealand; and advanced rapidly towards Copenhagen. This obliged Frederic IV. to conclude a special peace with him at Travendahl (Aug. 18. 1700), by which that prince consented to abandon his allies, and restore the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp to the same state in which he had been before the war. Next directing his march against the Czar in Esthonia, the young King forced the Russians from their entrenchments before Narva (Nov. 30.), and made prisoners of all the general and principal officers of the Russian army; among others, Field-Marshal General the Duke de Croi.

Having thus got clear of the Russians, the Swedish Monarch then attacked King Augustus, who had introduced a Saxon army into Poland, without being authorized by that Republic. Charles vanquished that prince in the three famous battles

of Riga (1701), Clissa (1702), and Pultusk (1703); and obliged the Poles to depose him, and elect in his place Stanislaus Leckinski, Palatine of Posen, and a protégé of his own. Two victories which were gained over the Saxons, and their allies the Russians, the one at Punie (1704), and the other at Fraustadt (1706), made Stanislaus be acknowledged by the whole Republic of Poland, and enabled the King of Sweden to transfer the seat of war to Saxony. Having marched through Silesia, without the previous authority of the Court of Vienna, he took Leipzig, and compelled Augustus to sign a treaty of peace at Alt-Ramstadt, by which that Prince renounced his alliance with the Czar, and acknowledged Stanislaus legitimate King of Poland. John Patkul being delivered up to the King of Sweden, according to an article in that treaty, was broken on the wheel, as being the principal instigator of the war.

The prosperity of Charles XII., had now come to an end. From this time he experienced only a series of reverses, which were occasioned as much by his passion for war, as by his indiscretions, and the unconquerable obstinacy of his character. The Russians had taken advantage of his long sojourn in Poland and Saxony, and conquered the greater part of Ingria and Livonia. The Czar had now advanced into Poland, where he had demanded of the Poles to declare an interregnum, and elect a new King. In this state of matters, the King of Sweden left Saxony to march against the Czar; and compelled him to evacuate Poland, and retire on Smolensko. Far from listening, however, to the equitable terms of peace which Peter

offered him, he persisted in his resolution to march on to Moscow, in the hope of dethroning the Czar, as he had dethroned Augustus. The discontent which the innovations of the Czar had excited in Russia, appeared to Charles a favourable opportunity for effecting his object; but on reaching the neighbourhood of Mophilew, he suddenly changed his purpose, and, instead of directing his route towards the capital of Russia, he turned to the right, and penetrated into the interior of the Ukraine, in order to meet Maseppa, Hetman of the Cossacs, who had offered to join him with all his troops. Nothing could have been more imprudent than this determination. By thus marching into the Ukraine, he separated himself from General Lewenhaupt, who had brought him, according to orders, a powerful reinforcement from Livonia; and trusted himself among a fickle and inconstant people, disposed to break faith on every opportunity.

This inconsiderate step of Charles did not escape the penetration of the Czar, who knew well how to profit by it. Putting himself at the head of a chosen body, he intercepted General Lewenhaupt, and joined him at Desna, two miles from Propoisk, in the Palatinate of Mscislaw. The battle which he fought with that general (9th October 1708) was most obstinate, and, by the confession of the Czar, the first victory which the Russians had gained over regular troops. The remains of Lewenhaupt's army having joined the King in the Ukraine, Charles undertook the siege of Pultowa, situated on the banks of the Vorskla, at the extremity of that province. It was near this place, that the famous battle was fought (8th

July 1709), which blasted all the laurels of the King of Sweden. The Czar gained there a complete victory. Nine thousand Swedes were left on the field of battle; and fourteen thousand, who had retired with General Lewenhaupt, towards Perevolatschna, between the Voraklaw and the Nieper, were made prisoners of war, three days after the action. Charles, accompanied by his ally Mazeppa, saved himself with difficulty at Bender in Turkey.

This disastrous route revived the courage of the enemies of Sweden. The alliance was renewed between the Czar, Augustus II., and Frederic II., King of Denmark. Stanislaus was abandoned. All Poland again acknowledged Augustus II. The Danes made a descent on Schonen; and the Czar achieved the conquest of Ingria, Livonia, and Caralia. The States that were leagued against France in the war of the Spanish Succession, wishing to prevent Germany from becoming the theatre of hostilities, concluded a treaty at the Hague (31st March 1710), by which they undertook, under certain conditions, to guarantee the neutrality of the Swedish provinces in Germany, as well as that of Sleswick and Jutland; but the King of Sweden having constantly declined acceding to this neutrality, the possessions of the Swedes in Germany were also seized and conquered in succession. The Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, the nephew of Charles XII., was involved in his disgrace, and stript of his estates by the King of Denmark (1714).

In the midst of these disasters, the inflexible King of Sweden persisted in prolonging his so-

jour at Bender, making repeated efforts to rouse the Turks against the Russians. He did not return from Turkey till 1714, when his affairs were already totally ruined. The attempts which he then made, either to renew the war in Poland, or invade the provinces of the Empire, excited the jealousy of the neighbouring powers. A formidable league was raised against him; besides the Czar, the Kings of Poland, Denmark, Prussia, and England, joined it. Stralsund and Wismar, the only places which Sweden still retained in Germany, fell into the hands of the allies; while the Czar added to these losses the conquest of Finland and Savolax. In a situation so desperate, Charles, by the advice of his minister, Baron Gortz, set on foot a special and secret negotiation with the Czar, which took place in the isle of Aland, in course of the year 1718. There it was proposed to reinstate Stanislaus on the throne of Poland; to restore to Sweden her possessions in the Empire; and even to assist her in conquering Norway; by way of compensation for the loss of Ingria, Carelia, Livonia, and Esthonia, which she was to cede to the Czar.

That negotiation was on the point of being finally closed, when it was broken off by the unexpected death of Charles XII. That unfortunate prince was slain (December 11th 1718), at the siege of Fredericshall in Norway, while visiting the trenches; being only thirty-seven years of age, and leaving the affairs of his kingdom in a most deplorable state.

The new regency of Sweden, instead of remaining in friendship with the Czar, changed their policy entirely. Baron de Gortz, the friend of the

late King, fell a sacrifice to the public displeasure, and a negotiation was opened with the Court of Sweden. A treaty of peace and alliance was concluded at Stockholm (Nov. 20. 1719), between Great Britain and Sweden. George I., on obtaining the cession of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, as Elector of Hanover, engaged to send a strong squadron to the Baltic, to prevent any further invasion from the Czar, and procure for Sweden more equitable terms of peace on the part of that Prince. The example of Great Britain was soon followed by the other allied powers, who were anxious to accommodate matters with Sweden. By the treaty concluded at Stockholm (21st January 1720), the King of Prussia got the town of Stettin, and that part of Pomerania, which lies between the Oder and the Peene. The King of Denmark consented to restore to Sweden the towns of Stralsund and Wismar, with the isle of Rugen, and the part of Pomerania, which extends from the sea to the river Peene. Sweden, on her side, renounced in favour of Denmark, her exemption from the duties of the Sound and the two Belts, which had been guaranteed to her by former treaties. The Czar was the only person who, far from being intimidated by the menaces of England, persisted in his resolution of not making peace with Sweden, except on the conditions which he had dictated to her. The war was, therefore, continued between Russia and Sweden, during the two campaigns of 1720 and 1721. Different parts of the Swedish coast were laid desolate by the Czar, who put all to fire and sword. To stop the progress of these devastations, the Swedes at length consented to accept the peace which the Czar offered them, which was

finally signed at Nystadt (13th September 1721). Finland was surrendered to Sweden in lieu of her formally ceding to the Czar the provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and Carelia; their limits to be determined according to the regulations of the treaty.

The ascendancy which Sweden had gained in the North since the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, had become so fatal to Denmark, that she was on the point of being utterly subverted, and effaced from the number of European powers. Nor did she extricate herself from the disastrous wars which she had to support against Charles X., until she had sacrificed some of her best provinces; such as Schonen, Bleckingen, Halland, and the government of Bohus, which Frederic III. ceded to Sweden by the treaties of Roschild and Copenhagen. It was at the close of this war that a revolution happened in the government of Denmark. Until that time, it had been completely under the aristocracy of the nobles; the throne was elective; and all power was concentrated in the hands of the senate, and the principal members of the nobility. The royal prerogative was limited to the command of the army, and the presidency in the Senate. The King was even obliged, by a special capitulation, in all affairs which did not require the concurrence of the Senate, to take the advice of four great officers of the crown, viz. the Grand Master, the Chancellor, the Marshal, and the Admiral; who were considered as so many channels or vehicles of the royal authority.

The state of exhaustion to which Denmark was reduced at the time she made peace with Sweden, obliged Frederic III. to convoke an assembly of

the States-General of the kingdom. These, which were composed of three orders, viz. the nobility, the clergy, and the burgesses, had never been summoned together in that form since the year 1536. At their meeting at Copenhagen, the two inferior orders reproached the nobles with having been the cause of all the miseries and disorders of the State, by the exorbitant and tyrannical power which they had usurped; and what tended still more to increase their animosity against them, was the obstinacy with which they maintained their privileges and exemptions from the public burdens, to the prejudice of the lower orders. One subject of discussion was, to find a tax, the proceeds of which should be applied to the most pressing wants of the State. The nobles proposed a duty on articles of consumption; but under restrictions with regard to themselves, that could not but exasperate the lower orders. The latter proposed, in testimony of their discontent, to let out to the highest bidder the fiefs of the crown, which the nobles held at rents extremely moderate. This proposal was highly resented by the nobility, who regarded it as a blow aimed at their rights and properties; and they persisted in urging a tax on articles of consumption, such as they had proposed. Certain unguarded expressions which escaped some of the members of the nobility, gave rise to a tumult of indignation, and suggested to the two leaders of the clergy and the burgesses, viz. the bishop of Zealand and the burgo-master of Copenhagen, the idea of framing a declaration for the purpose of rendering the crown hereditary, both in the male and female descendants, of Frederic III. It was not difficult for them to recommend

this project to their respective orders, who flattered themselves that, under a hereditary monarchy, they would enjoy that equality which was denied them under an aristocracy of the nobles. The act of this declaration having been approved and signed by the two orders, was presented in their name to the Senate, who rejected it, on the ground that the States-General then assembled, had no right to deliberate on that proposition; but the clergy and the burgesses, without being disconcerted, went in a body to the King, carrying with them the Act which offered to make the crown hereditary in his family. The nobles having made a pretence of wishing to quit the city in order to break up the Diet, care was taken to shut the doors. The members of the Senate and the nobility had then no other alternative left than to agree to the resolution of the two inferior orders; and the offer of the crown was made to the King, by the three orders conjunctly (13th October 1660). They then tendered him the capitulation, which was annulled; and at the same time they liberated him from the oath which he had taken on the day of his coronation. A sort of dictatorship was then conferred on him, to regulate the new constitutional charter, according to his good pleasure. All the orders of the State then took a new oath of fealty and homage to him, while the King himself was subjected to no oath whatever. Finally, the three orders separately remitted an Act to the King, declaring the crown hereditary in all the descendants of Frederic III., both male and female; conferring on him and his successors an unlimited power; and granting him the privilege of regulating the order

both of the regency and the succession to the throne.

Thus terminated that important revolution, without any disorder, and without shedding a single drop of blood. It was in virtue of those powers which the States had conferred on him, that the King published what is called the *Royal Law*, regarded as the only fundamental law of Denmark. The King was there declared absolute sovereign, above all human laws, acknowledging no superior but God, and uniting in his own person all the rights and prerogatives of royalty, without any exception whatever. He could exercise these prerogatives in virtue of his own authority; but he was obliged to respect the Royal Law; and he could neither touch the Confession of Augsburg, which had been adopted as the national religion, nor authorize any partition of the kingdom, which was declared indivisible; nor change the order of succession as established by the Royal Law. That succession was lineal, according to the right of primogeniture and descent. Females were only admitted, failing all the male issue of Frederic III.; and the order in which they were to succeed, was defined with the most scrupulous exactness. The term of majority was fixed at the age of thirteen; and it was in the power of the reigning monarch to regulate, by his will, the tutorage and the regency during such minority.

This constitutional law gave the Danish government a vigour which it never had before; the effects of which were manifested in the war which Christian V. undertook against Sweden (1675), in consequence of his alliance with Frederic William, Elector of Brandenburg. The Danes had

the advantage of the Swedes both by sea and land. Their fleet, under the command of Niels Juel, gained two naval victories over them, the one near the Isle of Oeland, and the other in the bay of Kioge, on the coast of Zealand (1677). That war was terminated by the peace of Lunden (Oct. 6. 1679), which restored matters between the two nations, to the same footing in which they had been before the war. The severe check which Sweden received by the defeat of Charles XII., before Pultowa, tended to extricate Denmark from the painful situation in which she had been placed with respect to that power. The freedom of the Sound, which Sweden had maintained during her prosperity, was taken from her by the treaty of Stockholm, and by the explanatory articles of Fredericksburg, concluded between Sweden and Denmark, (14th June 1720). That kingdom likewise retained, in terms of the treaty, the possession of the whole duchy of Sleswick, with a claim to the part belonging to the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, whom Sweden was obliged to remove from under her protection.

Poland, at the commencement of this period, presented an afflicting spectacle, under the unfortunate reign of John Casimir, the brother and successor of Uladislaus VII. (1648). Distracted at once by foreign wars and intestine factions, she seemed every moment on the brink of destruction ; and while the neighbouring states were augmenting their forces, and strengthening the hands of their governments, Poland grew gradually weaker and weaker, and at length degenerated into absolute anarchy. The origin of the *Liberum Veto* of the Poles, which allowed the opposition of a

single member to frustrate the deliberations of the whole Diet, belongs to the reign of John Casimir. The first that suspended the Diet, by the interposition of his veto, was Schinski, member for Upita in Lithuania; his example, though at first disapproved, found imitators; and this foolish practice, which allowed one to usurp the prerogative of a majority, soon passed into a law, and a maxim of state.

Towards the end of the reign of Uladislaus VII. a murderous war had arisen in Poland, that of the Cossacs. This warlike people, of Russian origin, as their language and their religion prove, inhabited both banks of the Borysthenes, beyond Kiow; where they were subdivided into regiments, under the command of a general, called *Hetman*; and served as a military frontier for Poland against the Tartars and Turks. Some infringements that had been made on their privileges, added to the efforts which the Poles had made to induce their clergy to separate from the Greek Church, and acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, exasperated the Cossacs, and engendered among them a spirit of revolt (1647). Assisted by the Turks of the Crimea, they invaded Poland, and committed terrible devastations. The Poles succeeded from time to time in pacifying them, and even concluded a treaty with them; but the minds of both parties being exasperated, hostilities always recommenced with every new offence. At length, their Hetman, Chmielniski, being hardly pressed by the Poles, took the resolution of soliciting the protection of Russia, and concluded a treaty with the Czar Alexis Michaelovitz (Jan. 16. 1654), in virtue of which, Kiow and the other towns of the Ukraine, under the power

of the Cossacs, were planted with Russian garrisons. It was on this occasion that the Czar retook the city of Smolensko from the Poles, as well as most of the districts that had been ceded to Poland, by the treaties of Dwilina and Vienna. That prince made also several other conquests from the Poles; he took possession of Wilna, and several places in Lithuania, at the very time when Charles X. was invading Poland, and threatening that country with entire destruction. The Czar, however, instead of following up his conquests, judged it more for his interest to conclude a truce with the Poles (1656), that he might turn his arms against Sweden.

The peace of Oliva put an end to the war between Poland and Sweden; but hostilities were renewed between the Russians and the Poles, which did not terminate till the treaty of Andrussov (Jan. 1667). The Czar restored to the Poles a part of his conquests; but he retained Smolensko, Novogorod-Sieverskoe, Tchernigov, Kiow, and all the country of the Cossacs, beyond the Boryathenes or Dnieper. The Cossacs on this side the river were annexed to Poland, and as for those who dwelt near the mouth of the Dnieper, called *Zaporogs*, it was agreed that they should remain under the common jurisdiction of the two states; ready to serve against the Turks whenever circumstances might require it. The wars of which we have just spoken, were attended with troubles and dissensions, which reduced Poland to the most deplorable condition during the reign of John Casimir. That prince at length, disgusted with a crown which he had found to be composed of thorns, resolved to abdicate the

throne (16th Sept. 1668); and retiring to France, he there ended his days.

Michael Wiesnouiski, who succeeded John Casimir, after a stormy interregnum of seven months, had no other merit than that of being descended in a direct line from Coribut, the brother of Jagello, King of Poland. His reign was a scene of great agitation, and of unbridled anarchy. Four diets were interrupted in less than four years; the war with the Cossacs was renewed; the Turks and the Tartars, the allies of the Cossacs, seized the city of Kaminiac (1672), the only bulwark of Poland against the Ottomans. Michael, being thrown into a state of alarm, concluded a disgraceful peace with the Turks; he gave up to them Kaminiac and Podolia, with their ancient limits; and even agreed to pay them an annual tribute of twenty-two thousand ducats. The Ukraine, on this side the Berysthenes, was abandoned to the Cossacs, who were to be placed under the protection of the Turks. This treaty was not ratified by the Republic of Poland, who preferred to continue the war. John Sobieski, Grand General of the Crown, gained a brilliant victory over the Turks near Choczim (Nov. 11th 1673). It took place the next day after the death of Michael, and determined the Poles to confer their crown on the victorious General.

Sobieski did ample justice to the choice of his fellow-citizens. By the peace which he concluded at Zarowno with the Turks (26th Oct. 1676), he relieved Poland from the tribute lately promised, and recovered some parts of the Ukraine; but the city of Kaminiac was left in the power of the Ottomans, with a considerable portion of the

Ukraine and Podolia. Poland then entered into an alliance with the House of Austria, against the Porte. Sobieski became the deliverer of Vienna; he signalized himself in the campaigns of 1683 and 1684; and if he did not gain any important advantages over the Turks, if he had not even the satisfaction of recovering Kaminiec and Podolia, it must be ascribed to the incompetence of his means, and to the disunion and indifference of the Poles, who refused to make a single sacrifice in the cause. Sobieski was even forced to have recourse to the protection of the Russians against the Turks; and saw himself reduced to the painful necessity of setting his hand to the definitive peace which was concluded with Russia at Moscow (May 6th 1686), by which Poland, in order to obtain the alliance of that power against the Ottomans, consented to give up Smolensko, Belaia, Dorogobuz, Tchernigov, Starodub, and Novgorod-Sieverskoe, with their dependencies; as also the whole territory known by the name of Little Russia, situated on the left bank of the Borysthenes, between that river and the frontier of Putivli, as far as Perevoloczna. The city of Kiow, with its territory as determined by the treaty, was also included in that cession. Finally, the Cossacs, called *Zaporogs* and *Kudak*, who, according to the treaty of Andrussov, ought to have been dependencies of these two states, were reserved exclusively to Russia. Sobieski shed tears when he was obliged to sign that treaty at Leopold (or Lemberg), in presence of the Russian ambassadors.

The war with the Turks did not terminate until the reign of Augustus II. the successor of John Sobieski. The peace of Carlowitz, which

that prince concluded with the Porte (1699), procured for Poland the restitution of Kaminiéc, as well as that part of the Ukraine, which the peace of Zarowno had ceded to the Turks.

Russia became every day more prosperous under the princes of the House of Romanow. She gained a decided superiority over Poland, who had formerly dictated the law to her. Alexis Michaelovitz not only recovered from the Poles what they had conquered from Russia during the disturbances occasioned by the two pretenders of the name of Demetrius; we have already observed, that he dispossessed them of Kiow, and all that part of the Ukraine, or Little Russia, which lies on the left bank of the Borysthenes.

Theodore Alexievitz, the son and successor of Alexis Michaelovitz, rendered his reign illustrious by the wisdom of his administration. Guided by the advice of his enlightened minister, Prince Galitzin, he conceived the bold project of abolishing the hereditary orders of the nobility, and the prerogatives that were attached to them. These orders were destructive of all subordination in civil as well as in military affairs, and gave rise to a multitude of disputes and litigations, of which a court, named *Rozrad*, took cognizance. The Czar, in a grand assembly which he convoked at Moscow (1682), abolished the hereditary rank of the nobles. He burnt the deeds and registers by which they were attested, and obliged every noble family to produce the extracts of these registers which they had in their possession, that they might be committed to the flames. That prince having no children of his own, had destined his younger

brother, Peter Alexievitz, to be his successor, to the exclusion of John, his elder brother, on account of his incapacity. But, on the death of Theodore, both princes were proclaimed at once by the military, and the government was intrusted to the Princess Sophia, their elder sister, who assumed the title of Autocratix and Sovereign of all the Russias. Peter, who was the son of the second marriage of the Czar, was at that time only ten years of age. It was during the administration of the Princess Sophia that the peace of Moscow was concluded (May 6. 1686); one clause of which contained an alliance, offensive and defensive, between Russia and Poland against the Porte.

Peter had no sooner attained the age of seventeen than he seized the reins of government, and deposed his sister Sophia, whom he sent to a convent. Endowed with an extraordinary genius, this Prince became the reformer of his Empire, which, under his reign, assumed an aspect totally new. By the advice of Le Fort, a native of Geneva, who had entered the Russian service, and whom he had received into his friendship and confidence, he turned his attention to every branch of the public administration. The military system was changed, and modelled after that of the civilized nations of Europe. He founded the maritime power of Russia, improved her finances, encouraged commerce and manufactures, introduced letters and arts into his dominions, and applied himself to reform the laws, to polish and refine the manners of the people.

Peter, being in alliance with Poland, engaged in the war against the Porte, and laid open the Black Sea by his conquest of the city and port of Azoff; and it was on this occasion that he equipped his

first fleet at Woronitz. Azoff remained in his possession, by an article of the peace which was concluded with the Porte at Constantinople (13th July 1700). About the same time, Peter abolished the patriarchal dignity, which ranked the head of the Russian Church next to the Czar, and gave him a dangerous influence in the affairs of government. He transferred the authority of the patriarch to a college of fifteen persons, called the *Most Holy Synod*, whose duty it was to take cognizance of ecclesiastical affairs, and in general, of all matters which had fallen within the jurisdiction of the patriarch. The members of this college were obliged to take the oath at the hands of the Sovereign, and to be appointed by him on the presentation of the Synod.

Being desirous of seeing and examining in person the manners and customs of other nations, he undertook two different voyages into foreign countries, divested of that pomp which is the usual accompaniment of princes. During these travels, he cultivated the arts and sciences, especially those connected with commerce and navigation; he engaged men of talents in his services, such as naval officers, engineers, surgeons, artists, and mechanics of all kinds, whom he dispersed over his vast dominions, to instruct and improve the Russians. During his first voyage to Holland and England, the *Strelitzes*, the only permanent troops known in Russia before his time, revolted; they were first instituted by the Czar, John Basilovitz IV. They fought after the manner of the Janissaries, and enjoyed nearly the same privileges. Peter, with the intention of disbanding these seditious and undisciplined troops, had stationed them on the frontiers of Lithuania; he had

also removed them from being his own body-guard, a service which he intrusted to the regiments raised by himself. This sort of degradation incensed the *Strelitzes*, who took the opportunity of the Czar's absence to revolt. They directed their march to the city of Moscow, with the design of deposing the Czar, and replacing Sophia on the throne : but they were defeated by the Generals Schein and Gordon, who had marched to oppose them. Peter, on his return, caused two thousand of them to be executed, and incorporated the rest among his troops. He afterwards employed foreign officers, either Germans or Swedes, to instruct the Russians in the military art.

It was chiefly during the war with Sweden that the Russian army was organized according to the European system. The Czar took advantage of the check he had sustained before Narva (Nov. 30. 1700), to accomplish this important change in levying, equipping, and training all his troops after the German manner. He taught the Russians the art of combating and conquering the Swedes ; and while the King of Sweden was bent on the ruin of Augustus II., and made but feeble efforts against the Czar, the latter succeeded in conquering Ingria from the Swedes, and laid open the navigation of the Baltic. He took the fortress of Noteburg (1702), which he afterwards called Schlisselburg ; he next made himself master of Nyenschantz, Kopori, and Jamu (now Jamburg) in Ingria. The port of Nyenschantz was entirely razed ; and the Czar laid the foundation of St Petersburg in one of the neighbouring islands of the Neva (May 27. 1703). In the middle of winter he constructed the port of Kronschlot to serve as a defence for the new city, which he in-

tended to make the capital of his Empire, and the principal depôt for the commerce and marine of Russia. The fortune of this new capital was decided by the famous battle of Pultowa (July 8: 1709), which likewise secured the preponderance of Russia in the North.

Charles XII., who had taken refuge in Turkey; used every effort to instigate the Turks against the Russians; and he succeeded by dint of intrigue. The Porte declared war against the Czar towards the end of the year 1710; and Charles opened the campaign of 1711 by an expedition which he undertook into Moldavia; but having rashly penetrated into the interior of that province, he was surrounded by the Grand Vizier near Falczi on the Pruth. Besieged in his camp by an army vastly superior to his own, and reduced to the last necessity, he found no other means of extricating himself from this critical situation, than by agreeing to a treaty, which he signed in the camp of Falczi (21st July 1711); in virtue of which, he consented to restore to the Turks the fortress of Azoff, with its territory and its dependencies. This loss was amply compensated by the important advantages which the peace with Sweden, signed at Nystadt (Sept. 10. 1721), procured the Czar. It was on this occasion that the Senate conferred on him the epithet of *Great*, the *Father of his Country*, and *Emperor of all the Russias*. His inauguration to the Imperial dignity took place, October 22d 1721, the very day of the rejoicing that had been appointed for the celebration of the peace. Peter himself put the Imperial crown on his own head.

That great prince had the vexation to see Alexis Czarowitz his son, and presumptive heir

to the Empire, thwarting all his improvements, and caballing in secret with his enemies. Being at length compelled to declare that he had forfeited his right to the throne, he had him condemned to death as a traitor (1718). In consequence of this tragical event, he published an Ukase, which vested in the reigning prince the privilege of nominating his successor, and even of changing the appointment whenever he might judge it necessary. This arrangement became fatal to Russia; the want of a fixed and permanent order of succession occasioned troubles and revolutions which frequently distracted the whole Empire. This law, moreover, made no provision in cases where the reigning prince might neglect to settle the succession during his life; as happened with Peter himself, who died without making or appointing any successor (Feb. 1725). Catherine I., his spouse, ascended the throne, which, after a reign of two years, she transmitted to Peter, son of the unfortunate Alexis.

In Hungary, the precautions that had been taken by the States of Presburg to establish civil and religious liberty on a solid basis, did not prevent disturbances from springing up in that kingdom. The Court of Vienna, perceiving the necessity of consolidating its vast monarchy, whose incoherent parts were suffering from the want of unity, eagerly seized these occasions for extending its power in Hungary, where it was greatly circumscribed by the laws and constitution of the country. Hence those perpetual infringements of which the Hungarians had to complain; and those ever-recurring disturbances in which the Ottoman Turks, who shared with Austria the dominion of Hungary, were also frequently implicated.

Transylvania, as well as a great part of Hungary, was then dependent on the Turks. The Emperor Leopold I. having granted his protection to John Kemeny, Prince of Transylvania, against Michael Abaffi, a protégé of the Turks, a war between the two Empires seemed to be inevitable. The Diet of Hungary, which the Emperor had assembled at Presburg on this subject (1662), was most outrageous. The States, before they would give any opinion as to the war against the Turks, demanded that their own grievances should be redressed; and the assembly separated without coming to any conclusion. The Turks took advantage of this dissension, and seized the fortress of Neuhausel, and several other places. The Emperor, incapable of opposing them, and distrustful of the Hungarian malcontents, had recourse to foreign aid. This he obtained at the Diet of the Empire; and Louis XIV. sent him a body of six thousand men, under command of the Count de Coligni. An action took place (1664) near St Gothard, in which the French signalized their bravery. The Turks sustained a total defeat; but Montecuculi, the commander-in-chief of the Imperial army, failed to take advantage of his victory. A truce of twenty years was soon after concluded at Temeswar, in virtue of which the Turks retained Neuhausel, Waradin, and Novigrad. Michael Abaffi, their tributary and protégé, was continued in Transylvania; and both parties engaged to withdraw their troops from that province.

This treaty highly displeased the Hungarians, as it had been concluded without their concurrence. Their complaints against the Court of Vienna became louder than ever. They complain-

ed, especially, that the Emperor should entertain German troops in the kingdom ; that he should intrust the principal fortresses to foreigners ; and impose shackles on their religious liberties. The Court of Vienna having paid no regard to these grievances, several of the nobles entered into a league for the preservation of their rights ; but they were accused of holding correspondence with the Turks, and conspiring against the person of the Emperor. The Counts Zrini, Nadaschdi, Frangepan, and Tattenbach, were condemned as guilty of high treason (1671), and had their heads cut off on the scaffold. A vast number of the Protestant clergy were either banished or condemned to the galleys, as implicated in the conspiracy ; but this severity, far from abating these disturbances, tended rather to augment them. The suppression of the dignity of Palatine of Hungary, which took place about the same time, added to the cruelties and extortions of all kinds practised by the German troops, at length raised a general insurrection, which ended in a civil war (1677). The insurgents at first chose the Count Francis Wessellini as their leader, who was afterwards replaced by Count Emeric Tekeli. These noblemen were encouraged in their enterprise, and secretly abetted by France and the Porte.

The Emperor then found it necessary to comply ; and, in a Diet which he assembled at Odenburg, he granted redress to most of the grievances of which the Hungarians had to complain ; but Count Tekeli having disapproved of the resolutions of this Diet, the civil war was continued, and the Count soon found means to interest the Turks and the prince of Transylvania in his quarrel.

The Grand Visier Kara Mustapha, at the head of the Ottoman forces, came and laid siege to Vienna (July 14. 1683). A Polish army marched to the relief of that place under their King, John Sobieski, who was joined by Charles IV., Duke of Lorraine, General of the Imperial troops; they attacked the Turks in their entrenchments before Vienna, and compelled them to raise the siege (September 12. 1683). Every thing then succeeded to the Emperor's wish. Besides Poland, the Russians and the Republic of Venice took part in this war in favour of Austria. A succession of splendid victories, gained by the Imperial Generals, Charles Duke of Lorraine, Prince Louis of Baden, and Prince Eugene, procured for Leopold the conquest of all that part of Hungary, which had continued since the reign of Ferdinand I. in the power of the Ottomans. The fortress of Neuheusel was taken, in consequence of the battle which the Duke of Lorraine gained over the Turks at Strigova (1668). The same General took by assault the city of Buda, the capital of Hungary, which had been in possession of the Turks since 1541. The memorable victory of Mohacz, gained by the Imperialists (1687), again reduced Transylvania and Sclavonia under the dominion of Austria. These continued reverses cost the Grand Vizier his life; he was strangled by order of the Sultan, Mahomet IV., who was himself deposed by his rebellious Janissaries.

Encouraged by these brilliant victories, the Emperor Leopold assembled the States of Hungary at Presburg. He there demanded, that, in consideration of the extraordinary efforts he had been

obliged to make against the Ottomans, the kingdom should be declared hereditary in his family. The States at first appeared inclined to maintain their own right of election; but yielding soon to the influence of authority, they agreed to make the succession hereditary in favour of the males of the two Austrian branches; on the extinction of which they were to be restored to their ancient rights. As for the privileges of the States, founded on the decree of King Andrew II., they were renewed at that Diet; with the exception of that clause in the thirty-first article of the decree, which authorized the States to oppose, by open force, any prince that should attempt to infringe the rights and liberties of the country. The Jesuits, who were formerly proscribed, were restored, and their authority established throughout all the provinces of the kingdom. The Protestants of both confessions obtained the confirmation of the churches and prerogatives that had been secured to them by the articles of the Diet of Odenburg; but it was stipulated, that only Catholics were entitled to possess property within the kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia. The Archduke Joseph, son of Leopold I., was crowned at this Diet (December 19. 1687), as the first hereditary King of Hungary.

The arms of Austria were crowned with new victories during the continuation of the war against the Turks. Albe-Royale, Belgrade, Semendria, and Gradisca, fell into the hands of the Emperor. The two splendid victories at Nissa and Widdin, which Louis prince of Baden gained (1689), secured to the Austrians the conquest of Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria. The dejected courage of the Ottomans was for a

time revived by their new Grand Vizier Mustapha Kupruli, a man of considerable genius. After gaining several advantages over the Imperialists, he took from them Nissa, Widdin, Semendria, and Belgrade; and likewise reconquered Bulgaria, Servia, and Bosnia. The extraordinary efforts that the Porte made for the campaign of the following year, inspired them with hopes of better success; but their expectations were quite disappointed by the unfortunate issue of the famous battle of Salankemen, which the Prince of Baden gained over the Turks, (Aug. 19. 1691). The brave Kupruli was slain, and his death decided the victory in favour of the Imperialists. The war with France, however, which then occupied the principal forces of Austria, did not permit the Emperor to reap any advantage from this victory; he was even obliged, in the following campaigns, to act on the defensive in Hungary; and it was not until the conclusion of peace with France, that he was able to resume the war against the Turks with fresh vigour. Prince Eugene, who was then commander-in-chief of the Imperial army, attacked the Sultan Mustapha II. in person, near Zenta on the river Teiss (Sept. 11. 1697), where he gained a decisive victory. The grand Vizier, seventeen Pachas, and two-thirds of the Ottoman army, were left dead on the field of battle; and the grand Seignor was compelled to fall back in disorder on Belgrade.

This terrible blow made the Porte exceedingly anxious for peace; and she had recourse to the mediation of England and Holland. A negotiation, which proved as tedious as it was intricate, was set on foot at Constantinople, and thence transfer-

red to Carlowitz, a town of Slavonia lying between the two camps, one of which was at Peterwaradin, and the other at Belgrade. Peace was there concluded between the Emperor and his allies (Jan. 26. 1699). The Emperor, by that treaty, retained Hungary, Transylvania and Slavonia, with the exception of the Banat of Temeswar, which was reserved to the Porte. The rivers Marosch, Teiss, Save, and Unna, were fixed as the limits between the two Empires. The Count Tekeli, who during the whole of this war had constantly espoused the cause of the Porte, was allowed to remain in the Ottoman territory; with such of the Hungarians and Transylvanians as adhered to him.

The peace of Carlowitz had secured to the Emperor nearly the whole of Hungary; but, glorious though it was, it did not restore the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, which very soon experienced fresh troubles. The same complaints that had arisen after the peace of Temeswar, were renewed after that of Carlowitz; to these were even added several others, occasioned by the introduction of the hereditary succession, at the Diet of 1687, by the suppression of the clause in the thirty-first article of the decree of Andrew II., by the restoration of the Jesuits and the banishment of Tekeli and his adherents. Nothing was wanted but a ringleader for the malcontents to rekindle the flames of civil war, and this leader was soon found in the person of the famous Prince Ragoczi, who appeared on the scene about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and when the greater part of Europe were involved in the war of the Spanish Succession.

Francis Ragoczi was the grandson of George

Ragoczi II., who had been prince of Transylvania; and held a distinguished rank in the States of Hungary, not more by his illustrious birth than by the great possessions which belonged to his family. The Court of Vienna, who entertained suspicions of him on account of his near relationship with Tekeli, had kept him in a sort of captivity from his earliest infancy; and he was not set at large, nor restored to the possession of his estates, until 1694, when he married a princess of Hesse-Rheinfels. From that time he resided quietly on his estates, holding his Court at Sarosch, in the district of the same name. Being suspected of having concerted a conspiracy with the malcontents, he was arrested by order of the Court of Vienna (1701), and carried to Neustadt in Austria, whence he escaped and retired to Poland. Being condemned as guilty of high treason, and his estates declared forfeited, he took the resolution of placing himself at the head of the rebels, and instigating Hungary against the Emperor. France, who had just joined in the war with Austria, encouraged him in that enterprise, which she regarded as a favourable event for creating a diversion on the part of her enemy. Having arrived in Hungary, Ragoczi published a manifesto (1703), in which he detailed the motives of his conduct, and exhorted the Hungarians to join him, for vindicating their ancient liberties which had been oppressed by the House of Austria. He soon attracted a crowd of partisans, and made himself master of a great part of the kingdom. The Transylvanians chose him for their prince (1704); and the States of Hungary, who had united for the reestablishment

of their laws and immunities, declared him their chief, with the title of Duke, and a senate of twenty-five persons. Louis XIV. sent his envoy, the Marquis Dessalleurs, to congratulate him on his elevation ; and the Czar, Peter the Great, offered him the throne of Poland (1707), in opposition to Stanislaus, who was protected by Charles XII.

The House of Austria being engaged in the Spanish war, were unable for a long time to reduce the Hungarian malcontents. The repeated attempts which she had made to come to an accommodation with them having failed, the war was continued till 1711, when the Austrians, who had been victorious, compelled Ragoczi to evacuate Hungary, and retire to the frontiers of Poland. A treaty of pacification was then drawn up. The Emperor promised to grant an amnesty, and a general restitution of goods in favour of all those who had been implicated in the insurrection. He came under an engagement to preserve inviolable the rights, liberties, and immunities of Hungary, and the principality of Transylvania ; to reserve all civil and military offices to the Hungarians ; to maintain the laws of the kingdom respecting religion ; and as for their other grievances, whether political or ecclesiastical, he consented to have them discussed in the approaching Diet. These articles were approved and signed by the greater part of the malcontents, who then took a new oath of allegiance to the Emperor. Ragoczi and his principal adherents were the only persons that remained proscribed and attainted, having refused to accede to these articles.

The Turkish Empire, once so formidable, had gradually fallen from the summit of its grandeur ;

its resources were exhausted, and its history marked by nothing but misfortunes. The effeminacy and incapacity of the Sultans, their contempt for the arts cultivated by the Europeans, and the evils of a government purely military and despotic, by degrees undermined its strength, and eclipsed its glory as a conquering and presiding power. We find the Janissaries, a lawless and undisciplined militia, usurping over the sovereign and the throne the same rights which the Prætorian guards had arrogated over the ancient Roman Emperors.

The last conquest of any importance which the Turks made was that of Candia, which they took from the Republic of Venice. The war which obtained them the possession of that island, lasted for twenty years. It began under the Sultan Ibrahim (1645), and was continued under his successor, Mahomet IV. The Venetians defended the island with exemplary courage and intrepidity. They destroyed several of the Turkish fleets; and, on different occasions, they kept the passage of the Dardanelles shut against the Ottomans. At length the famous Vizier Achmet Kupruli undertook the siege of the city of Candia (1667), at the head of a formidable army. This siege was one of the most sanguinary recorded in history. The Turks lost above a hundred thousand men; and it was not till after a siege of two years and four months that the place surrendered to them by a capitulation (Sept. 5. 1669), which at the same time regulated the conditions of peace between the Turks and the Venetians. These latter, on surrendering Candia, reserved, in the islands and islets adjoining, three places, viz. Suda, Spinalonga, and Garabusa. They also retained Clissa, and some

other places in Dalmatia and Albania, which they had seized during the war. The reign of Mahomet from that time, presented nothing but a succession of wars, of which that against Hungary was the most fatal to the Ottoman Empire. The Turks were overwhelmed by the powerful league formed between Austria, Poland, Russia, and the Republic of Venice. They experienced, as we have already noticed, a series of fatal disasters during that war; and imputing these misfortunes to the effminacy of their Sultan, they resolved to depose him. Mustapha II., the third in succession from Mahomet IV., terminated this destructive war by the peace of Carlowitz, when the Turks lost all their possessions in Hungary, except Temeswar and Belgrade. They gave up to Poland the fortress of Kaminnec, with Podolia, and the part of the Ukraine on this side the Nieper, which had been ceded to them by former treaties. The Venetians, by their treaty with the Porte, obtained possession of the Morea, which they had conquered during the war; including the islands of St Maura and Leucadia, as also the fortresses of Dalmatia, Knin, Sing, Cichut, Gabella, Castlernovo, and Risano. Finally, the Porte renounced the tribute which Venice had formerly paid for the isle of Zante; and the Republic of Ragusa was guaranteed in its independence, with respect to the Venetians.

REVOLUTIONS OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER IX.

PERIOD VIII.

FROM THE PEACE OF UTRECHT TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

A. D. 1713—1789.

[DURING the war of the preceding period, arts and letters had made extraordinary progress; especially in France, where they seemed to have reached the highest degree of perfection to which the limited genius of man can carry them. The age of Louis XIV. revived, and in some respects excelled those masterpieces which Greece had produced under Pericles, Rome under Augustus, and Italy under the patronage of the Medici. This was the classical era of French literature. The grandeur which reigned at the court of that monarch, and the glory which his vast exploits had reflected on the nation, inspired authors with a noble enthusiasm; the public taste was refined by imitating the models of antiquity; and this preserved the French writers from those extrava-

gancies which some other nations have mistaken for the standard of genius. Their language, polished by the Academy according to fixed rules, the first and most fundamental of which condemns every thing that does not tend to unite elegance with perspicuity, became the general medium of communication among the different nations in the civilized world; and this literary conquest which France made over the minds of other nations, is more glorious, and has proved more advantageous to her, than that universal dominion to which Louis XIV. is said to have aspired.

In the period on which we are now entering, men of genius and talents, though they did not neglect the *Belles-Lettres*, devoted themselves chiefly to those sciences, and that kind of learning, the study of which has been diffused over all classes of society. Several branches of mathematics and natural philosophy, assumed a form entirely new; the knowledge of the ancient classics, which, till then, had been studied chiefly for the formation of taste, became a branch of common education, and gave birth to a variety of profound and useful researches. Geometry, astronomy, mechanics, and navigation, were brought to great perfection, by the rivalry among the different academies in Europe. Natural Philosophy discovered many of the laws and phenomena of nature, of which the ancients had entertained no doubt. Chemistry rose from the rank of an obscure art, and put on the garb of an attractive science. Natural History, enriched by the discoveries of learned travellers, was divested of those fables and chimeras which ignorance had attributed to her. History, supported by the auxiliary

science of Geography and Chronology, became a branch of general philosophy.

This progress in the various departments of human learning, gave the name of the Intellectual Age to the epoch of which we now speak. This title it might have justly claimed, had not those pretended philosophers, who sprouted up in the eighteenth century, under pretext of infusing general knowledge among all classes of people, perverted the public mind, by preaching doctrines which became the root of those calamities that, for thirty years, distracted all Europe. The object of these superficial reasoners, was to annihilate religion, the basis of all morality; and to propagate, among the disciples of atheism, tenets subversive, not only of political government and the legitimate power of kings, but of the rights and happiness of the people.

This spirit of irreligion took its rise in England in the seventeenth century. * Hobbes, who inculcated materialism, was one of the champions of that atheism, which Bolingbroke, Shaftesbury, Collins, Tindall and others, taught in their works, in the early part of the eighteenth century; but the contemplative character of the English nation, and the talents of those that undertook to defend religion, completely neutralised this poison; and Christianity, triumphing over all these attempts, struck root deeper than ever.

In France, however, infidelity found preachers more able, and pupils more docile. Voltaire, D'Alembert, Diderot, Helvetius, (a man amiable enough in other respects, but whose good

* This is not true. Italy was the birth-place of the doctrine in question. See Bayle's Dict. Art. Viret. T.

qualities were soiled by a craving vanity for indiscriminate distinction), and a foreigner, Baron Holbach, who was settled at Paris, had the audacity to conspire against Christianity, and were resolved to throw off all authority whatever in matters of faith. They preached up infidelity, sometimes under the form of Deism, sometimes under the form of Atheism; and throughout their various writings, they took every means which appeared to them likely to accomplish their infamous design. While clamouring about universal toleration for religious opinions of all kinds, they persecuted those who offered any opposition to these new doctrines, especially the ministers of the Catholic church. The unlimited freedom of the press, which was one of their favourite dogmas, enabled them to infect all ages and classes of society with their pernicious maxims; while by dint of ridicule, calumnies, and rascals, they shut the mouths of those who offered to combat their theories. A grand work, undertaken by D'Alembert and Diderot, with the assistance of other writers, and announced as being the storehouse of all human knowledge, called the *Encyclopædia*, became the arsenal where the enemies of Christianity forged their arms—the school where youth imbibed the elements of pernicious instruction.

It ought to be told to the honour of other nations, that, with the exception of some of the nobles, and even of the sovereigns, who were blind to the consequences of this system, few persons in Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and the countries of the North, where their education was more solid, allowed themselves to be duped by these errors and impieties. Portugal, Spain, and Italy

scarcely took any notice of them; but in France they corrupted several generations in succession, and prepared them for receiving a new political creed, which, by attacking the very basis of social order, at length overturned it, first in that country, and afterwards over the greater part of the globe.

The root of this political mischief, as well as that of Deism and Infidelity, must be sought for in England. The disputes between the Revolutionists and the Stuarts, in the seventeenth century, which stained that nation with a crime till then unheard of, had given birth to a new sort of public right, if we may so call a system which went to subvert all subordination. It is remarkable, that the first who started the hypothesis of an original social contract, which supposed all legitimate power to be delegated, and consequently dependant on the sovereignty of the people, was a partisan of monarchy. Thomas Hobbes, who, following out the application of his own principles, built on this foundation a system of absolute despotism, James Harrington, author of the *Oceana*, and especially Algernon Sydney, all seized this novel idea, and drew from it results quite opposite to the views of its author; though, in fact, the error is a two-edged weapon, and will cut either way. John Locke pushed it even farther; in despite of history, he admitted as a fact the existence of a social contract from which states originated, and maintained that monarchies were nothing else than republics degenerated.

From England these doctrines passed to France, where they were greedily received, not only by

the enemies of religion, but also by a multitude of writers, who, without belonging to that party, allowed themselves to be drawn away by the vanity of fame, and the *eclat* of a false philosophy. The public mind had been already prepared for them by another invention of the eighteenth century, which was erroneous in principle, though laudable in its design, and contributed to the overthrow of better theories, because it had fallen into the hands of a sect who were misled by enthusiasm. This sect was that of the *Economists*, and the invention that of the *Physiocratic System*, as it was called, which, by estimating the wealth of a nation solely according to the mass of its natural productions, tended to reduce all public burdens to a single tax on land, and consequently to introduce a perfect equality in property. The inventor of this doctrine was a physician of Paris, named Francis Quesnay; though Victor de Riquetti, Marquis de Mirabeau, was its most zealous propagator.

The first French work on this new right of the people appeared in 1748, under the title of *Esprit des Loix*, or Spirit of Laws. Its author, Baron Montesquieu, there extolled the representative system, and the doctrine of the division of power, which from that moment became two of the articles of faith in the new philosophy, which none were allowed to controvert. The Spirit of Laws, a work written with elegance, and replete with wit, often profound, though sometimes superficial, combines with some splendid and sublime ideas, a number of sophisms, subtleties, and errors. The enigmatical manner in which the author sometimes delivers himself, has led some to impute doctrines to him which probably never entered into his sys-

ten. Four years afterwards, Rousseau, a native of Geneva, published his *Social Contract*, eloquently composed, but feeble in point of reasoning. The author meant to prove, that, by an original contract, the people had reserved the right of declaring their mind on every thing relating to government—a monstrous system, which, instead of the liberty which it professes to introduce, tends to establish the most revolting despotism, by giving the whole power to the majority; that is, to the least enlightened, and most unreflecting part of the nation.

In consequence of these publications, a vast number of writers set themselves to propagate and inculcate on the young, the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, as the source whence all legitimate power emanated. This doctrine admitted a case, which its partisans, however, agree never existed, namely, an act by which the people had delegated the exercise either of a part or the whole of their power. It made despotism lawful, wherever it was found actually established; and it led to anarchy, since all delegated power may be withdrawn, and because the sovereign people could never deprive the next generation of their natural and imprescriptible rights.

These new doctrines were received in some countries which had resisted the poison of irreligion. They found numerous partisans in Germany, where they seemed to many to be the final accomplishment of the Reformation of the seventeenth century, which was regarded as the era of religious liberty. The literary journals of that country promulgated them in all forms; they prevailed in universities and seminaries of learning;

different sovereigns did homage to them, flattered by the panegyrics which the philosophers bestowed on them.

The time at length came, when the abettors of these opinions thought men's minds sufficiently prepared for beginning to put their new system in practice. A professor at Ingolstadt, in Bavaria, named Adam Weishaupt, founded a secret order, called the *Illuminati* (1776), who, under the disguise of Free Masonry, and the discipline practised in the institutions of the Jesuits, professed in appearance a love for truth and virtue, and a hatred for prejudice and despotism; but who initiated their disciples in the projected revolution; and taught them to shake off all restraint, both civil and religious, to overturn every established authority, and restore to mankind that liberty and equality which, it was said, they had enjoyed in a state of nature, and of which the institution of civil government had deprived them. This order was detected and dissolved (1785); but only in Bavaria, for it continued in several countries of Germany, and probably still exists under other forms.

It was in this manner that the public mind was corrupted in the eighteenth century. Obedience and love to their kings ceased to be the boast and glory of the people; a vague desire to change took possession of men's minds, and filled their heads with errors; and hence was engendered that bloody revolution, which will form the subject of our Ninth Period. In the Eighth, on which we are now entering, the polity of Europe experienced several remarkable changes.

The equilibrium among the different States,

discomposed by the ambition of Louis XIV, had been confirmed by the peace of Utrecht, which lasted during twenty-four years without any great alteration. Nevertheless, in the political transactions which took place at this time, England enjoyed a preponderance which had been growing gradually since she had ceased to be the theatre of civil discord. The glory which she had acquired by the success of her arms in the Spanish wars, and the important advantages which the treaty of Utrecht had procured her, both in Europe and America, augmented her political power, and gave her an influence in general affairs which she never had enjoyed before. That nation carried their commerce and their marine to an extent which could not fail to alarm the other commercial and maritime states, and make them perceive that, if the care of their own trade and independence made it necessary to maintain a system of equilibrium on the Continent, it was equally important for their prosperity that bounds should be set to the monopolizing power of England. This gave rise at first to a new kind of rivalry between France and England,—a rivalry whose effects were more particularly manifested after the middle of the eighteenth century, and which occasioned an intimate alliance among the branches of the House of Bourbon. At a later date, and in consequence of the principles which the English professed as to the commerce of neutral states, the powers of the North leagued themselves against that universal dominion which they were accused of wishing to usurp over the sea. In the Ninth Period, we shall even see the whole Continent for a short time

turned against that nation—the only one that has been able to preserve her commerce and her independence.

This preponderance of England is the first change which the political system of Europe experienced in the eighteenth century. The second took place in the North. Till that time, the northern countries of Europe had never, except transiently, had any political connexions with the South. Russia, separated by the possessions of Sweden on the coasts of the Baltic, had belonged rather to Asia than to our quarter of the world. Poland, fallen from her ancient greatness, had sunk into a state of anarchy and exhaustion. Denmark and Sweden were disputing the command of the Baltic, and had no other influence on the politics of the South than that which Sweden had acquired by the personal qualities of some of her kings. The great war of the North, which broke out at the commencement of the eighteenth century, and the conquests of Peter the Great, which extended the limits of his Empire as far as the Gulf of Finland, and reduced Sweden to a state of debility from which she has not yet recovered, enabled Russia not only to take a distinguished lead in the North, but to become an important member in the system of Europe.

Meantime, the foundation of the Prussian monarchy gave rise to a new and intermediate power between the North and the South; but that state remained within the bounds of mediocrity until the middle of the eighteenth century. At that time the genius of Frederic II. alone raised it to a pitch of greatness which enabled it to struggle against the superior force of its neighbours, but

without menacing the independence of other states. This growing power of Prussia, however, occasioned a rivalry between it and Austria, which for seventy years had an influence on the politics of Europe. It produced the extraordinary spectacle of an intimate alliance between two ancient rivals, the Houses of Austria and Bourbon; and, by dividing Germany between two opposite systems, it paved the way for the dissolution of that Empire. Such was the third change which the polity of Europe experienced in course of the eighteenth century.

The fourth change was less felt than the three others; its fatal consequences did not develop themselves until the Ninth Period. For the first time within the last three centuries, the sovereigns of Europe ventured to break treaties and to violate engagements, to declare war and undertake conquests, without alleging any other motives than reasons of convenience, and the ambition of aggrandisement. Thus the basis of the equilibrium system, the inviolability of possessions honourably acquired, was sapped, and the downfall of the whole system prepared. The events of the wars for the succession of Austria, furnished the first examples of this contempt for treaties; they were renewed in an alarming manner on the partition of Poland, and by the attempts which the Emperor Joseph made to seize Bavaria. The act of iniquity committed against Poland was often cited, during the period of the French Revolution, to justify all sorts of violence and usurpation; and it was followed by a long train of calamities.

Commerce continued, in the eighteenth century, to be one of the principal objects that occu-

pied the Cabinets of Europe. The mercantile system was brought to great perfection, and became, with most nations, the basis of their administration. The maritime powers turned all their attention, and bestowed the greatest care, on their colonies, the number and wealth of which were augmented by new establishments and better regulations. In imitation of Louis XIV., most of the states kept up numerous standing armies; a practice which they even carried to excess. The influence of England in Continental affairs was increased; as she had no occasion to augment her own army in proportion to that of other kingdoms, she was able to furnish them with those supplies which were necessary to carry on their wars. Besides, since the time of Frederic II., or about the year 1740, tactics, and the military art in general, had reached a degree of perfection which seemed scarcely to admit of further improvement. Finally, the financial system of several states experienced a revolution, by the invention of public funds for the payment of national debts; especially that instituted by Mr Pitt, called the Sinking Fund.]

The extraordinary efforts which the powers of Europe had made during the last century, for maintaining the equilibrium of the Continent against the ambitious designs of France and Sweden, brought on a long period of tranquillity, which gave these nations an opportunity of encouraging arts, industry and commerce, and thereby repairing the evils which the long and disastrous wars had occasioned. Cabinets were attentive to maintain the stipulations of the treaties of Utrecht and Stockholm; and, by means of nego-

uations, to guard against every thing that might rekindle a new general war. The good understanding that subsisted between France and Great Britain during the reign of George I. and the beginning of that of George II.—or, in other words, under the administration of Walpole, was the effect of those temporary interests that engrossed the attention of the two Courts—the one being under terror of the Pretender, and the other alarmed at the ambitious projects of Spain.

The Duke of Orleans, Regent of France during the minority of Louis XV., was anxious to maintain that peace and political order which the late treaties had introduced; having it in view to remedy those disorders in the finance, which Louis XIV. had left in so deplorable a state. The King of Spain, on the other hand, who was desirous of reviving his rights to the crown of France, went into the rash schemes of Cardinal Alberoni, his prime minister, purporting to renew the war; to reconquer those territories which the peace of Utrecht had dismembered from the Spanish monarchy; to deprive the Duke of Orleans of the regency, and vest it in the King of Spain; and to place the Pretender, son of James II., on the throne of Great Britain.

The treaty of Utrecht, although it had tranquillized a great part of Europe, was nevertheless defective, in as far as it had not reconciled the Emperor and the King of Spain, the two principal claimants to the Spanish succession. The Emperor, Charles VI., did not recognise Philip V. in his quality of King of Spain; and Philip, in his turn, refused to acquiesce in those partitions of the Spanish monarchy, which the treaty of Utrecht

had stipulated in favour of the Emperor. To defeat the projects and secret intrigues of the Spanish minister, the Duke of Orleans (thought of courting an alliance with England, as being the power most particularly interested in maintaining the treaty of Utrecht, the fundamental articles of which had been dictated by herself. That alliance, into which the United Provinces also entered, was concluded at the Hague (Jan. 4. 1717). The articles of the treaty of Utrecht, those especially which related to the succession of the two crowns, were there renewed; and the Regent, in complaisance to the King of England, agreed to banish the Pretender from France, and to admit British commissioners into Dunkirk to superintend that port.

Cardinal Alberoni, without being in the least disconcerted by the Triple Alliance, persisted in his design of recommencing the war. No sooner had he recruited the Spanish forces, and equipped an expedition, than he attacked Sardinia, which he took from the Emperor. This conquest was followed by that of Sicily, which the Spaniards took from the Duke of Savoy (1718).

France and England, indignant at the infraction of a treaty which they regarded as their own work, immediately concluded with the Emperor, at London (Aug. 3. 1718), the famous Quadruple Alliance, which contained the plan of a treaty of peace, to be made between the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy. The allied powers engaged to obtain the consent of the parties interested in this proposal, and in case of refusal, to compel them by force of arms. The Emperor was to renounce his right to the Spanish crown, and to acknowledge Philip V. as the legitimate King

of Spain, in consideration of that prince renouncing the provinces of Italy and the Netherlands, which the treaty of Utrecht and the quadruple alliance adjudged to the Emperor. The Duke of Savoy was to cede Sicily to Austria, receiving Sardinia in exchange, which the King of Spain was to disclaim. The right of reversion to the crown of Spain was transferred from Sicily to Sardinia. That treaty likewise granted to Don Carlos, eldest son of Philip V., by his second marriage, the eventual reversion and investiture of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, as well as the grand duchy of Tuscany, on condition of holding them as fief-holds of the Emperor and the Empire, after the decease of the last male issue of the families of Farnese and Medici, who were then in possession; and the better to secure this double succession to the Infant, they agreed to introduce a body of six thousand Swiss into the two duchies, to be quartered in Leghorn, Porto-Ferrajo, Parma, and Placentia. The contracting powers undertook to guarantee the payment of these troops.

The Duke of Savoy did not hesitate to subscribe the conditions of the quadruple alliance; but it was otherwise with the King of Spain, who persisted in his refusal; when France and England declared war against him. The French invaded the provinces of Guipuscoa and Catalonia, while the English seized Galicia and the port of Vigo. These vigorous proceedings shook the resolutions of the King of Spain. He signed the quadruple alliance, and banished the Cardinal Alberoni from his court, the adviser of those measures of which the allies complained. The Spanish troops then evacuated Sicily and Sardinia, when the Empe-

ror took possession of the former, and Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, of the latter.

The war to all appearance was at an end; peace, however, was far from being concluded, and there still remained many difficulties to settle between the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy. To accomplish this, and conclude a definitive treaty between these three powers, a Congress was summoned at Cambray, which was to open in 1721, under the mediation of France and England; but some disputes which arose regarding certain preliminary articles, retarded their meeting for several years. Their first and principal object was to effect an exchange of the acts of mutual renunciation between the Emperor and the King of Spain, as stipulated by the treaty of the quadruple alliance. The Emperor, who was reluctant to abandon his claims to the Spanish monarchy, started difficulties as to the form of these renunciations. He demanded that Philip's renunciation of the provinces of Italy and the Netherlands, should be confirmed by the Spanish Cortes. Philip demanded, in his turn, that the renunciation of the Emperor with regard to Spain, should be ratified by the States of the Empire. To get clear of this difficulty, France and England agreed, by a special compact, signed at Paris (Sept. 27. 1721), that the renunciations of both princes, however defective they might be, should be held valid under the guaranty of the two mediating powers.

Scarcely was this difficulty settled, when another presented itself, much more embarrassing. This related to the Company of Ostend, which the Emperor had instituted, and to which, by charter signed at Vienna (Dec. 19. 1722), he had

granted, for thirty years, the exclusive privilege of trading to the East and West Indies, and the coasts of Africa. That establishment set the maritime powers at variance with the Emperor; especially the Dutch, who regarded it as prejudicial to their Indian commerce. They maintained, that according to the treaty of Munster, confirmed by the twenty-sixth article of the Barrier Treaty (1715), the trade of the Spaniards with the East Indies was to remain as it was at that time.

Nothing in these preliminary discussions met with so much opposition as the grant of the eventual reversion and investiture of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, which the Emperor had engaged, by the Quadruple Alliance, to give to Don Carlos, the Infant of Spain. The Duke of Parma, the Pope, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany joined in opposition to it. Anthony, the last Duke of Parma and Placentia, of the House of Farnese, demanded that the Emperor should never, during his life, exercise over the duchy of Parma, the territorial rights established by the treaty of the Quadruple Alliance. The Pope also protested loudly against that clause of the treaty which deprived him of the rights of superiority over Parma and Placentia, which his predecessors had enjoyed for several centuries. As for the Grand Duke of Tuscany, John Gaston, the last of the Medici, he maintained, that as his duchy held of God only, he could never permit that it should be declared a fief of the Empire; nor recognise the Infant of Spain as heir of his estates, to the prejudice of his sister's rights, the widow of the Elector Palatine.

Charles VI. without stopping at these objec-

mons, laid the business of these investitures before the Diet of Ratisbon; and, after having obtained their consent, he caused copies to be made of the letters of reversion and investiture in favour of Don Carlos and his heirs-male. These having been presented to the Congress, the King of Spain refused to receive them; alleging the protests of the Pope, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany; nor would he agree to them, except on condition of an act of guaranty on the part of the mediating powers. All these difficulties being settled, and the preliminaries closed, they at length proceeded with the conferences at Cambray (April 1724), for the conclusion of a definitive peace between the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy. Every thing seemed arrived at an amicable termination, when some differences arose between the commissioners of the Emperor and those of the mediating powers, which occasioned new interruptions.

Meantime, the Duke of Bourbon, who had succeeded the Duke of Orleans in the ministry, sent back to Spain the Infanta Maria, daughter of Philip V., who had been educated at the court of France, as the intended spouse of Louis XV. This event broke up the Congress. Philip V., mightily offended, recalled his ministers from Cambray. Baron Ripperda, * whom he had sent as envoy to the Imperial Court, put an end to the differences between these two powers, in despite of the mediation of France. In consequence, a special treaty was concluded at Vienna between the Emperor and the King of Spain (April 30. 1725). This treaty renewed the renunciation of Philip V. to the provinces of Italy and the Netherlands, as well as that of the Emperor to Spain and the Indies.

The eventual investiture of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, and that of the grand duchy of Tuscany, were also confirmed. The only new clause contained in the treaty, was that by which the King of Spain undertook to guarantee the famous Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI., which secured to the daughter of that prince the succession of all his estates. It was chiefly on this account that Philip V. became reconciled to the Court of Vienna.

The peace of Vienna was accompanied by a defensive alliance between the Emperor and the King of Spain. Among other clauses, one was that the Emperor should interpose to obtain for the King of Spain the restitution of Gibraltar and the island of Minorca; while Philip, on his side, granted to the shipping of the Emperor and his subjects free entrance into his ports, and all immunities and prerogatives which were enjoyed by the nations in the strictest commercial connexions with Spain. These clauses alarmed England and Holland; and the intimacy which had been established between the Courts of Vienna and Madrid attracted more particularly the attention of the Duke of Bourbon, who dreaded the resentment of the King of Spain, as he had advised the return of the Infanta. To prevent any such consequences, he set on foot a league with England and Prussia, capable of counteracting that of Vienna, which was concluded at Herrenhausen, near Hanover (Sept. 3. 1725), and is known by the name of the *Alliance of Hanover*. All Europe was divided between these two alliances. Holland, Sweden, and Denmark acceded to the alliance of Hanover. Catherine I. of Russia, and the principal Catholic States of the Em-

pire joined that of Vienna. The Emperor ever succeeded in detaching the King of Prussia from the alliance of Hanover to join his own. Europe seemed then on the eve of a general war; the ambassadors to the different courts were recalled. The English sent a numerous and powerful fleet to America, the Mediterranean, and the Baltic; while the Spaniards commenced hostilities, by laying siege to Gibraltar. The death of the Empress of Russia (May 17. 1727), however, caused a change in the disposition of the Northern powers. The Emperor, seeing he could no longer reckon on the assistance of Russia, showed no anxiety to second the efforts of the Spaniards; but what chiefly contributed to the maintenance of peace was, that neither France nor England were desirous of war.

In this situation of affairs, the Pope interposed his mediation; and a new preliminary treaty was signed at Paris, which ordained that there should be an armistice for seven years; that the Company of Ostend should be suspended for the same time; and that a new General Congress should be held at Aix-la-Chapelle.

This congress was first transferred to Cambray, and thence to Soissons, where it was opened in 1728. Ambassadors from almost all the Courts of Europe appeared there; and they expected, with some reason, a happy conclusion of the business; as most of the difficulties which had embarrassed the Congress of Cambray were settled by the peace of Vienna, and as the only subject for deliberation was to settle the succession of Parma and Tuscany. But the Emperor having demanded that the Austrian Pragmatic Sanction should be adopted as the basis of the arrangements for esta-

frustrating the peace of Soissons, that incident became the subject of new disputes. Cardinal Fleury, then prime minister of France, having strongly opposed this claim of the Court of Vienna, the Emperor, in his turn, threw obstacles in the way of the negotiation at Soissons. This inclined the Cardinal to make overtures to the Court of Madrid, with whom he concerted a secret negotiation, in which he also found means to associate England.

This gave rise to a treaty of peace, union, and offensive alliance, which was signed at Seville between France, Spain, and England (November 9, 1729). These powers engaged to guarantee the succession of Parma and Tuscany in favour of the Infant Don Carlos; and to effect this, they resolved to substitute six thousand Spanish troops in the Swiss garrisons, named by the Quadruple Alliance. The Dutch acceded to that treaty, in consideration of the engagement which the contracting powers came under to give them entire satisfaction with respect to the Company of Ostend.

The Emperor, finding the treaty of Seville concluded without his cooperation, was apprehensive of having failed in his principal aim, viz. the adoption of the Austrian Pragmatic Sanction. He was indignant that the allies at Seville should pretend to lay down the law to him touching the abolition of the Ostend Company, and the introduction of Spanish troops into Italy. Accordingly, being determined not to comply, he immediately broke off all relationship with the Court of Spain; he recalled his ambassador, and took measures to pre-

want the Spanish troops from taking possession of Italy. The last Duke of Parma, Anthony Farnese, being dead (1731), he took possession of his duchy by force of arms.

At length, to terminate all these differences, the King of England, in concert with the States-General, opened a negotiation with the Emperor; the result of which was a treaty of alliance, signed at Vienna, between him, England and Holland (March 16. 1731). In virtue of that treaty, the three contracting powers mutually guaranteed their estates, rights and possessions; England and Holland, more especially, engaged to guarantee the Austrian Pragmatic Sanction; and the Emperor, on his side, consented to the introduction of Spanish troops into Italy, and to the suppression of the Company of Ostend; he even agreed that the Netherlands should never carry on trade with the Indies, either by the Ostend Company, or any other.

In consequence of this treaty, which was approved by the States-General, Don Carlos took possession of Parma and Placentia; and the Grand Duke of Tuscany also recognised him as his successor. Thus terminated these long disputes about the Spanish Succession, after having agitated the greater part of Europe for upwards of thirty years.

In the midst of these contentions, a war had arisen between the Porte and the Republic of Venice; in which the Emperor Charles VI. was also implicated. The Turks were desirous of recovering the Morea, which they had been obliged to abandon to the Venetians at the peace of Carlowitz; but instead of attacking that Republic, while the Emperor was engaged with the French war, and un-

able to render it assistance, they waited till the conclusion of the treaties of Utrecht, Rastadt, and Baden, before they declared hostilities. The pretexts which the Turks made to justify this rupture were extremely frivolous; but they knew well that the Venetians, who had lived in the most complete security since the peace of Carlowitz, had neglected to repair the fortifications which had been destroyed in the war, and that it would be easy for them to reconquer them.

In fact, during the campaign of 1715, the Grand Vizier not only recovered the Morea, he even dispossessed the Venetians of the places which they still retained in the Isle of Candia; and, at the commencement of the following campaign, they laid siege to the town of Corfu. Charles VI. thought he was bound, as a guarantee of the peace of Carlowitz, to espouse the cause of the Venetians; he declared war against the Porte, and his example was followed by the Pope and the King of Spain, who united their fleets to those of the Republic. The Turks were defeated in several engagements, and obliged to raise the siege of Corfu, after sacrificing a great many lives.

The campaigns of 1716 and 1717 in Hungary, were triumphant for the armies of the Emperor; Prince Eugene gained a brilliant victory over the Grand Vizier, near Peterwaradin (August 5th), which enabled him to invest Temeswar, which he carried after a siege of six months, and thus completed the conquest of Hungary. To crown his glory, that great captain next undertook the siege of Belgrade, regarded by the Turks as the principal bulwark of their Empire. The Grand Vizier marched to the relief of the place, at the head of

a formidable army. He encamped before Belgrade, and enclosed the Imperial army within a semicircle, reaching from the Danube to the Save. Prince Eugene had then no other alternative than to leave his camp, and attack the Turks in their intrenchments. He took his measures with such address, that, in spite of the great superiority of the Turks, he forced them back to their camp, and put them completely to rout (Aug. 16. 1717).

This victory was followed by the reduction of Belgrade, and several other places on the Save and the Danube. The Porte began to wish for peace; and as the Emperor, who had just been attacked in Italy by the Spaniards, was equally desirous to put an end to the war, both parties agreed to accept the mediation of England and Holland. A congress was opened at Passarowitz, a small town in Servia, near the mouth of the Morava. A peace was there concluded between the three belligerent powers (July 21. 1718), on the basis of the *Utipossidetis*. The Emperor retained Temeswar, Orsova, Belgrade, and the part of Wallachia lying on this side of the river Aluta; as also Servia, according to the limits determined by the treaty, and both banks of the Save, from the Drina to the Unna. The Venetians lost possession of the Morea, but they retained several places in Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and Albania, which they had conquered during the war. The Porte restored to them the Island of Cerigo in the Archipelago.

The success of Charles VI. in this war procured some new advantages to his house, on the part of the States of Hungary. The Diet of 1687, in vesting the hereditary right of that kingdom in the Emperor, Leopold I., had restricted that

right, solely to the male descendants of the House of Austria; and Charles VI., on his accession to the throne, had acknowledged the elective right of the States, in case he should happen to die without leaving any male offspring. This prince, finding afterwards that he had no other children left than the two daughters by his marriage with Elizabeth princess of Brunswick, and being desirous of securing to them the succession of Hungary as well as his other estates, assembled a Diet at Presburg (1722), and there engaged the States of the kingdom to extend the right of succession to females, according to the order which he had established in the Austrian Pragmatic Sanction, and published some years before.

A revolution happened in the government of Sweden immediately after the death of Charles XII., and before the great war of the North was quite ended. Reduced to a state of unfeigned distress by the folly, ambition, and inflexible obstinacy of that prince, Sweden saw her finest provinces occupied by the enemy, her commerce annihilated, her armies and her fleets destroyed. They attributed these disasters chiefly to the absolute power of Charles XII., and the abuse he had made of it. The only remedy for so many evils, they conceived, was to abolish a power which had become so pernicious to the State. As Charles had never been married, the throne, according to the hereditary law established in Sweden, passed to the son of the duchess of Holstein-Gottorp, eldest sister of Charles; but the Senate of Sweden preferred to him the princess Ulrica Eleonora, younger sister of the late king; because of the declaration she had made, renouncing all absolute power, and

consenting to hold the crown only by the free election of the States of the kingdom. The States, in an assembly held at Stockholm, in the beginning of 1719, declared the throne vacant, and then proceeded to the election of the princess. With their act of election, they presented her with a new form of government, and an act known by the name of the *Royal Assurance*, which imposed new limitations on the royal authority. The princess signed these acts (February 21.), and the States declared that whoever should attempt to restore absolute power, should be considered as a traitor to his country.

The government was intrusted to the queen conjointly with the Senate; while the legislative power was reserved to the States, to meet regularly every three years. The queen had the right of proposing bills or ordinances; but before these could have the force of law, they were to be submitted to the examination of the States, without whose consent war was never to be proclaimed. As for the deliberations of the Senate, it was resolved, that they should be decided by a plurality of suffrages, that the queen should have two votes, and a casting vote besides. Thus, the chief power was vested in the hands of the Senate, the members of which resumed their ancient title of Senators of the kingdom, instead of that of Counsellors to the King, which had been bestowed on them at the revolution of 1680. Ulrica Eleonora, afterwards resigned the crown to her husband prince Frederic of Hesse-Cassel. The States, in their election of that prince (May 22. 1720), ordained that the Queen, in case she should survive her husband, should be reinstated in her rights, and resume the crown, without the necessity of a new deliberation of the States.

Frederic, by the Royal Assurance, and the form of government which he signed, agreed to certain new modifications of the royal power, especially concerning appointments to places of trust. By these different stipulations, and the changes which took place in consequence, the power of the Swedish Kings was gradually reduced to very narrow limits. It was so much the more easy to make encroachments on the royal power, as the King, by a radical defect in the new form of government, had no constitutional means of preserving the little authority that was left him.

The death of Augustus II. of Poland, occasioned new disturbances, which passed from the North to the South of Europe, and brought about great changes in Italy. Louis XV. took the opportunity of that event to replace Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, who was his father-in-law, and the former protégé of Charles XII. The Primate, and the greater part of the Polish nobility being in the interest of that prince, he was consequently elected (Sept. 12. 1733).

Anne Iwanowna, duchess-dowager of Courland, and niece of Peter the Great, had just ascended the throne of Russia; having succeeded Peter II. (June 20. 1730), who was cut off in the flower of his age without leaving any progeny. The grandees, in conferring the crown on Anne, had limited her power by a capitulation which they made her sign at Mittau, but which she cancelled immediately on her arrival at Moscow. That princess, dreading the influence of France in Poland, in case of a war between Russia and the Porte, espoused the interests of Augustus III., Elector of Saxony, and son of the late King, whom

she wished to place on the Polish throne. Part of the Polish nobility, withdrawing from the field of election, and supported by a Russian army, proclaimed that prince, in opposition to Stanislaus, the protégé of France.

The Russians, reinforced by the Saxon troops, seized Warsaw, and compelled Stanislaus to retire to Dantzic, where he was besieged by a Russian army, under command of Field-Marshal Munich, and obliged to seek safety in flight. Louis XV. wishing to avenge this injury offered to his father-in-law, and not being in a condition to attack Russia, he resolved to declare war against the Emperor; on the ground that he had marched an army to the frontiers of Poland, for supporting the election of the Saxon prince.

Spain and Sardinia espoused the cause of Stanislaus, which seemed to them to be the cause of Kings in general; while the Emperor saw himself abandoned by England and Holland, whose assistance he thought he might claim, in virtue of the guarantee which the treaty of Vienna had stipulated in his favour. But these powers judged it more for their interests to preserve strict neutrality in this war, on the assurance which France had given the States-General, not to make the Austrian Netherlands the theatre of hostilities. The French commenced operations by seizing Lorraine, the sovereign of which, Francis Stephen, son of Duke Leopold, was to have married Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of the Emperor Charles VI. It was the Count de Belleisle, who took possession of that duchy (Oct. 1733). About the same time, Marshal Berwick passed the Rhine at the head of the French army, and reduced the for-

ress of Kehl. By thus attacking a fortress of the Empire, France gave the Emperor a pretext for engaging the Germanic Body in his quarrel. In fact, he declared war against France and her allies; which induced the French to seize several places on the Moselle, and to reduce the fortress of Philipsburg, at the siege of which, Marshal Berwick was slain (June 12. 1734).

The principal scene of the war then lay in Italy; where the campaigns of 1734 and 1735 were most glorious for the allies. After the two victories which they had gained over the Imperialists near Parma (June 29.) and Guastalla (Sept. 17.), they made themselves master of all Austrian Lombardy, with the single exception of Mantua, which they laid under blockade. A Spanish army, commanded by the Duke of Montemar, accompanied by the Infant Don Carlos, directed their march on Naples, which threw open its gates to the Spaniards. The victory which they gained over the Imperialists at Bitonto (May 25.), decided the fate of the kingdom of Naples. After this conquest, the Infant passed to Sicily. He soon reduced that island, and was crowned King of the Two Sicilies at Palermo (July 3. 1735.)

The Emperor, overwhelmed by so many reverses, and unable to withstand the powers leagued against him, eagerly solicited assistance from Russia. The Empress Anne, who saw the war terminated in Poland, and Augustus in quiet possession of the throne, dispatched a body of ten thousand auxiliaries, under the command of General Count de Lacy, into Germany, in the spring of the year 1735. These troops, the first Russians who had

appeared in that country, joined the Imperial army on the Rhine, which was commanded by Prince Eugene. That General, however, did not succeed in his design of transferring the seat of war to Lorraine.

Matters were in this situation, when the maritime powers interposed their good offices for restoring peace between the Emperor and the States leagued against him. Cardinal Fleury, perceiving that their mediation was not agreeable to the Imperial Court, took the resolution of concerting a secret negotiation with the Emperor, the result of which was a treaty of preliminaries; although much deliberation was necessary before coming to the conclusion of a definitive peace. This was at length signed at Vienna, between France, the Emperor, and the Empire, on the 8th of November 1738. The former treaties of Westphalia, Niméguen, Ryswick, Utrecht, and the Quadruple Alliance, were admitted as the basis of this treaty. Stanislaus renounced the throne of Poland, and retained the title only during his life. They gave him, by way of compensation, the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, on condition that, at his death, they should revert with full right to France. The single county of Falkenstein, with its appurtenances and dependencies, was reserved for Francis, Duke of Lorraine. In exchange for the duchy which he abdicated, that prince received the grand duchy of Tuscany, whose last possessor, John Gaston, of the House of Medici, had just died without leaving any posterity (1737). The kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with the ports of Tuscany, were secured to Don Carlos and his descendants, male and female; and, failing them, to the younger bro-

thers of that prince, and their descendants. On his part, Don Carlos ceded to the Emperor the duchies of Parma and Placentia, and even renounced the rights which former treaties had given him over the grand duchy of Tuscany. They restored to the Emperor all that had been taken from him in the provinces of Milan and Mantua ; with the reservation of the districts of Novara and Tortona, which he was obliged to cede to Charles Emanuel III., King of Sardinia, together with San-Fidele, Torre di Forti, Gravedo, and Campo-Maggiore ; as also the territorial superiority of the fiefs commonly called Langhes, to be held entirely as Imperial fiefs. Finally, France undertook, in the most authentic form, to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction of the Emperor.

The Kings of Spain and Sardinia were not satisfied with the conditions of this treaty. The former wished to preserve the grand duchy of Tuscany, with the duchies of Parma and Placentia ; and the other had expected to obtain a larger portion of Lombardy. Thus, these princes long hesitated to admit the articles agreed to between the courts of France and Vienna ; nor did they give their consent until the year 1739.

While these disputes about the succession of Poland occupied a great part of Europe, a war broke out between the Turks and the Russians, in which Austria was also implicated. The Empress Anne of Russia, wishing to recover Azoff, and repair the loss which Peter the Great had sustained in his unfortunate campaign on the Pruth, took advantage of the war between the Turks and the Prussians, to form an alliance with Khouli Khan, the famous conqueror of the East,

who had just subverted the ancient dynasty of the Sophis of Persia. The incursions which the Tartars had made at different times into the Russian provinces, without the Porte thinking proper to check them, served as a motive for the Empress to order an expedition against the Turks (1735), and to declare war against the Porte soon after. It was during the campaign of 1736 that Count Lacy made himself master of Azoff, and that Marshal Munich, after having forced the lines at Perekop, penetrated into the interior of the Crimea; but having in that expedition lost many of his men by famine and disease, he found it impossible to maintain himself in that peninsula.

The Emperor offered himself at first as a mediator between the belligerent powers. A conference was opened at Niemerow in Poland, which proved fruitless. The Russians, who had just taken Oczakoff, emboldened by their success, were desirous to continue the war; while the Emperor, without reflecting on the bad condition of his military strength, and the loss which he had sustained by the death of the celebrated prince Eugene (April 21. 1736), thought only of sharing the conquest with the Russians. He then laid aside the character of mediator, to act on the defensive against the Turks; but he had soon reason to repent of this measure. The Turks, encouraged by the famous Count de Bonneval, gained considerable advantages over the Austrians; and in course of the campaigns of 1737 and 1738, they dislodged them from Wallachia and Servia, retook Orsova, and laid siege to the city of Belgrade in 1739.

The Court of Vienna, in a state of great consternation, had recourse to the mediation of M. de

Villeneuve, the French ambassador at Constantinople, to sue for peace with the Porte; Count Neipperg, who was sent by the Emperor to the Turkish camp before Belgrade, signed there, with too much precipitation, a treaty, under very disadvantageous terms for Austria; and the Empress Anne, who had intrusted the French ambassador with her full powers, consented also to a peace very unfavourable for Russia, notwithstanding the brilliant victory which Marshal Munich had gained over the Turks in the neighbourhood of Choczim (Oct. 28. 1739), which was followed by the capture of that place, and the conquest of Moldavia by the Russians.

The Emperor, by that peace, ceded to the Porte, Belgrade, Sabatz, and Orsova, with Austrian Serbia and Wallachia. The Danube, the Save, and the Unna, were again settled as the boundary between the two Empires; and Austria preserved nothing but the Banat of Temeswar, of all that had been ceded to her by the peace of Passarowitz. The Austrian merchants, however, were granted free ingress and egress, in the kingdoms and provinces of the Ottoman Empire, both by sea and land, in their own vessels, with the flag and letters-patent of the Emperor, on condition of their paying the accustomed dues.

Russia surrendered all her conquests, and among others Choczim and Moldavia. The boundaries between the two Empires were regulated by different special agreements. The fortress of Azoff was demolished; and it was stipulated that Russia should not construct any new fortress within thirty versts of that place, on the one side; nor

the Porte within thirty versts, on the side of the Cuban. Russia was even interdicted from having and constructing fleets or other naval stores, either on the Sea of Azoff or the Black Sea. The Zaporog Cossacs continued under the dominion of Russia, which obtained also from the Porte the acknowledgment of the Imperial title. The peace between Russia and the Porte was declared perpetual; but they limited that between Austria and the Porte to twenty-seven years. The latter was renewed under the Empress Maria Theresa; and rendered also perpetual, by an agreement which that princess concluded with the Porte, May 25, 1747.

The succession to Charles VI., the last male descendant of the House of Hapsburg, who died October 20th 1740, kindled a new general war in Europe. That prince, in the year 1713, had published an order of succession, known by the name of the Pragmatic Sanction, which decreed, that failing his lineal heirs-male, his own daughters should succeed in preference to those of his brother the Emperor Joseph I.; and that the succession of his daughters should be regulated according to the order of primogeniture, so that the elder should be preferred to the younger, and that she alone should inherit his whole estates. He took great pains to get this order approved by the different hereditary States of Austria, as well as by the daughters of his brother Joseph I., and by the husbands of these princesses, the Electors of Saxony and Bavaria. He even obtained, by degrees, the sanction of all the principal powers of Europe. But though his external policy had been very active in securing the rights of his eldest daughter Maria

Theresa, he neglected those measures to which he ought rather to have directed his attention. The wretched state in which he left his finances and his army, encouraged a number of pretenders, who disputed the succession with that princess.

Of these claimants, the principal was the Elector of Bavaria, who, as being descended from Anne of Austria, daughter of Ferdinand I., advanced the claims of the former of these daughters against the latter; grounded on the contract of marriage between that princess and Albert V. Duke of Bavaria, as well as on the will of Ferdinand I. The Elector of Saxony, then King of Poland, although he had approved of the Pragmatic Sanction, claimed the succession, as being husband of the elder of these princesses; and in virtue of a compact between the two brothers, Joseph I. and Charles VI., which provided, that the daughters of Joseph should, under all circumstances, be preferred to those of Charles.

Philip V., King of Spain, laid claim to the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary. He grounded his rights on an agreement (1617) between Philip III. of Spain and Ferdinand of Austria, afterwards the Emperor Ferdinand II.; according to which these kingdoms were to pass to the descendants of Philip III., failing the male line of Ferdinand. A war had arisen between Spain and England on account of the clandestine traffic which the English carried on in Spanish America, under favour of the contract called the *Assiento*. Philip V. thought of turning these differences relative to the Austrian succession to his own advantage, either for drawing France into an alliance with him against England, or to procure for his son Don Philip a set-

tlement in Italy, at the expense of the daughter of Charles VI.

Frederic II., King of Prussia, who had just succeeded his father Frederic I., judged this a favourable time for turning his attention to the affairs of his own kingdom, and profiting by the troops and treasures which his father had left. With this view, he revived certain claims of his family to several duchies and principalities in Silesia, of which his ancestors, he maintained, had been unjustly deprived by Austria. Finally, the King of Sardinia laid claim to the whole duchy of Milan; grounded on the contract of marriage between his ancestor, Charles Emanuel Duke of Savoy, and the daughter of Philip II. of Spain. The Court of France, wishing to avail herself of these circumstances for humbling Austria, her ancient rival, set on foot a negotiation with the Elector of Bavaria, and engaged to procure him the Imperial crown, with a part of the territories, of which he had deprived Austria.

An alliance was concluded between France, Spain, and the Elector of Bavaria, which was joined also by the Kings of Prussia, Poland, Sardinia, and the two Sicilies; and to prevent Russia from affording assistance to Maria Theresa, they prevailed on Sweden to declare war against that power. The Court of Vienna having complained of these resolutions of the French Cabinet, which were directly opposed to the conditions of the last treaty of Vienna, Cardinal Fleury, who had been drawn into that war by the intrigues of M. De Belleisle, alleged in his own justification, that the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, which France had undertaken by that treaty, presupposed the clause

Sine prejudicio tertii ; that is to say, that France never intended, by that guarantee, to prejudice the just claims of the Elector of Bavaria.

The most active of the enemies of Maria Theresa was the King of Prussia, who entered Silesia in the month of December 1740. While he was occupied in making that conquest, the Elector of Bavaria, reinforced by an army of French auxiliaries, took possession of Upper Austria ; but, instead of marching directly upon Vienna, he turned towards Bohemia, with the intention of conquering it. Meantime, the Electoral Diet, which was assembled at Frankfort, conferred the Imperial dignity on that prince (Jan. 24. 1742), who took the name of Charles VII. Nothing appeared then to prevent the dismemberment of the Austrian monarchy, according to the plan of the allied powers. The Elector of Bavaria was to have Bohemia, the Tyrol, and the provinces of Upper Austria ; the Elector of Saxony was to have Moravia and Upper Silesia ; and the King of Prussia the remainder of Silesia. As for Austrian Lombardy, it was destined for Don Philip, the Infant of Spain. Nothing was left to the Queen, except the kingdom of Hungary, with Lower Austria, the duchies of Carinthia, Stiria and Carniola, and the Belgic Provinces. In the midst of these imminent dangers, Maria Theresa displayed a courage beyond her age and sex. Aided by the supplies of money which England and Holland furnished her, and by the generous efforts which the Hungarian nation made in her favour, she succeeded in calming the storm, repulsing the enemy with vigour, and dissolving the grand league which had been formed against her.

The King of Prussia, in consequence of the two

victories which he gained at Molwitz (April 10. 1741), and Czaslau (May 17. 1742), had succeeded in conquering Silesia, Moravia, and part of Bohemia. It was of importance for the Queen to get rid of so formidable an enemy. The King of Great Britain having interposed, certain preliminaries were signed at Breslau, which were followed by a definitive peace, concluded at Berlin (July 28. 1742). The Queen, by this treaty, gave up to the King of Prussia Silesia and the Comté of Glatz, excepting the principality of Teschen, and part of the principalities of Troppau, Jagerndorf, and Neisse. The example of Prussia was soon followed by the King of Poland. This Prince, alarmed at the sudden increase of the Prussian power, not only acceded to the treaty of Berlin, but even formed an alliance with the Queen against Prussia.

The King of Sardinia, who dreaded the preponderance of the Bourbons in Italy, likewise abandoned the grand alliance, and attached himself to the Queen's interests, by a compact which was signed at Turin. The French and Spaniards then turned their arms against that Prince; and while the King of the two Sicilies joined his forces with the Spaniards, an English squadron appeared before Naples, threatened to bombard the city, and compelled the King to recall his troops from Lombardy, and remain neutral. This was not the only piece of service which George II. rendered the young Queen. Being one of the powers that guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, he sent to her aid an army composed of English, Hanoverians, and Hessians. This, known by the name of the Pragmatic Army, fought and defeated the French at Dettingen (June 27. 1743). They were after-

wards reinforced by a body of troops which the States-General sent, in fulfilment of the engagement which they had contracted with the Court of Vienna. Lastly, that prince, in order to attach the King of Sardinia more closely to the interests of Austria, set on foot a treaty at Worms, by which the Queen ceded to the King of Sardinia the territory of Pavia, between the Po and the Tasio, part of the duchy of Placentia, and the district of Anghiera, with the rights which they claimed to the marquisate of Finale. The King, on his part, abandoned all claims to the Milanois; and engaged to support an army of 40,000 men for the service of the Queen, in consideration of the supplies which England promised to pay him.

This soon changed the aspect of affairs. The Queen reconquered Austria and Bohemia. She expelled the French from Bavaria, and drove them even beyond the Rhine. The Emperor Charles VII. was obliged to transfer his residence from Munich to Frankfort on the Maine. France, who had never acted till then but as the ally of the Elector of Bavaria, resolved, in consequence of these events, formally to declare war against the Queen and the King of Great Britain (March 15. 1744.) The King of the Two Sicilies broke his neutrality, and again joined his troops with the Spanish army, who were acting against the Queen and her ally the King of Sardinia. The war was now carried on with fresh vigour. Louis XV. attacked the Austrian Netherlands in person, and negotiated a treaty of Union, at Frankfort, between the Emperor, and several principal States of the Empire. By this treaty it was stipulated, that the allied princes should unite their forces, and

constrain the Queen to acknowledge the Emperor Charles VII., and reinstate him in his hereditary dominions.

It was in consequence of this treaty, that the King of Prussia again commenced the war, and made an attack on Bohemia. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had invaded Alsace, at the head of an Austrian army, was obliged to repass the Rhine, and march to the relief of that kingdom. The French penetrated into Germany, and while Louis XV. laid siege to Friburg in Brisgaw, General Seckendorf, who commanded the Imperial army, reconquered Bavaria. Charles VII., who was then restored to his estates, returned to Munich.

During these transactions, an unforeseen event happened, which changed the state of affairs. The Emperor died at the early age of forty-seven (Jan. 20. 1745), and his son Maximilian, Joseph II., used all expedition to make up matters with the Queen. By the special treaty, which he concluded with her at Fuessen (April 22. 1745), he renounced the claims which his father had made to the succession of Charles VI. He again signed the Pragmatic Sanction, satisfied with being maintained in the possession of his patrimonial estates. The French had in vain endeavoured to prevent the election of the Grand Duke of Tuscany to the Imperial throne, who had been associated with his wife, Maria Theresa, in the government of her hereditary dominions. That prince, however, was elected at Frankfort, under the protection of the Austrian and Pragmatic armies.

An alliance had been concluded at Warsaw between Maria Theresa, Poland, England, and Holland (Jan. 8. 1745.) Augustus III. had engaged,

as Elector of Saxony, to despatch an army of 30,000 men to the Queen's assistance, in consideration of the subsidies which England and Holland had promised to pay him. That army being joined by the Austrians, had advanced into Silesia, where they sustained a total defeat near Hohenfriedberg (June 4.) The victorious King of Prussia returned to Bohemia, and there defeated the allies a second time, near Sorr, in the Circle of Kemnitz (Sept. 30.) He then attacked Saxony, in order to compel the Queen to make peace, by harassing the Elector her ally. The victory, which he gained over the Saxons at Kesselsdorf (Dec. 15.), made him master of Dresden, and the whole Electorate, which he laid under contribution. These victories accelerated the peace between the King of Prussia, the Queen, and the Elector of Saxony, which was signed at Dresden, under the mediation of Great Britain. The King of Prussia restored to the Elector all his estates, the latter promising to pay him a million of Imperial crowns. The Queen gave up Silesia and the Comté of Glatz; while the King, as the Elector of Brandenburg, acquiesced in the election of Francis I. to the Imperial throne. The King of England, the Dutch, and the States of the Empire, undertook to guarantee these stipulations.

The treaties of Flessen and Dresden restored tranquillity to the Empire; but the war was continued in the Netherlands, Italy, and in the East and West Indies. The French, under the conduct of Marshal Saxe, distinguished themselves in the Netherlands. The victories which they gained over the allies at Fontenoy (May 11. 1745), and at Ro-

souk (Oct. 11. 1746), procured them the conquest of all the Austrian Netherlands, except the towns and fortresses of Luxemburg, Limburg, and Guel-dres.

Charles Edward, son of the Pretender, encouraged and assisted by the Court of France, landed in Scotland in August 1745. Being joined by a number of partisans, whom he found in that kingdom, he caused his father to be proclaimed at Perth and Edinburgh, assuming to himself the title of Prince of Wales, and Regent of the three kingdoms. The victory which he gained near Prestonpans over the English troops, rendered him master of all Scotland. He next invaded England, took Carlisle, and advanced as far as Derby, spreading terror and consternation in London. George II. was obliged to recall the Duke of Cumberland, with his troops, from the Netherlands. That Prince drove back the Pretender, retook Carlisle, and restored tranquillity in Scotland, by defeating the Rebels near Culloden in the Highlands. Charles Edward was then reduced to the necessity of concealing himself among the mountains, until the month of October following, when he found means to transport himself to France.

The campaign of 1745 in Italy was glorious for the French, and their allies the Spaniards. The Republic of Genoa, being offended at the clause in the treaty of Worms, which took from them the marquise of Finale, espoused the cause of the two crowns, and facilitated the junction of the French army of the Alps with that of Lombardy. One effect of this junction was the conquest of Piedmont, as also of Austrian Lombardy, except-

ing the cities of Turin and Mantua, which the allies had laid under blockade.

The fate of the war, however, experienced a new change in Italy, at the opening of the following campaign. Maria Theresa, disengaged from the war with Prussia, sent considerable reinforcements into Lombardy, which gave her arms a superiority over those of the allies. The French and Spaniards were stript of all their conquests, and sustained a grand defeat at Placentia (June 16. 1746), which obliged them to beat a retreat. To add to their misfortunes, the new King of Spain, Ferdinand VI., who had just succeeded his father, Philip V., being displeased with the Court of France, and unfavourably inclined towards his brother Don Philip, recalled all his troops from Italy. The French had then no other alternative left than to follow the Spaniards in their retreat. Italy was abandoned to the Austrians, and the French troops again returned to Provence. The whole Republic of Genoa, with its capital, fell into the hands of the Austrians. The King of Sardinia took possession of Finale, Savona, and the western part of the Republican territory. The Austrians, joined by the Piedmontese, made a descent on Provence, and undertook the siege of Antibes.

An extraordinary event produced a diversion favourable for France, and obliged the Austrians and Piedmontese to repass the Alps. The Genoese being maltreated by the Austrians, who had burdened them with contributions and discretionary exactions, suddenly rose against their new masters. The insurgents, with Prince Doria at their head, succeeded in expelling them from Genoa (Dec. 1746). General Botta, who commanded at Genoa,

was obliged to abandon his stores and equipage, that he might the more quickly escape from the territory of the Republic. The siege of Antibes was raised; the allies repassed the Alps, and blockaded Genoa. But the French having sent powerful supplies by sea to that city, and at the same time made a vigorous attack on the side of Piedmont, relieved the Genoese, and obliged the enemy to retreat.

In 1747, the French, who were already masters of the Austrian Netherlands, attacked and conquered Dutch Flanders. They blamed the Dutch for having sent constant supplies to Maria Theresa, for having invaded the French territory, and granted a retreat through their own to the enemy's troops, after the battle of Fontenoy. This invasion spread terror in the province of Zealand, who thus saw themselves deprived of their barrier, and exposed to the inroads of the French. The partisans of the Prince of Orange took advantage of that circumstance to restore the Stadtholdership. This dignity, as well as that of Captain and Admiral-General of the Republic, had remained vacant since the death of William III.

William IV., Prince of Nassau-Dietz, though he was testamentary heir to that prince, had only obtained the Stadtholdership of Freisland, to which was afterwards added that of Groningen and Gueldres; but the efforts which he made to obtain the other offices and dignities of the ancient Princes of Orange, proved ineffectual. The four provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Overijssel, persisted in their free government, and even refused the Prince the office of General of Infantry, which he had requested. France, by attacking Dutch

Flanders, contributed to the elevation of William. There was a general feeling in his favour in those provinces which had no Stadtholder ; the people of the different towns and districts rose in succession, and obliged the magistrates to proclaim William IV. as Stadtholder and Captain-General. This revolution was achieved without disturbance ; and without any obstacle on the part of those who had an interest in opposing it, but who were obliged to yield to the wishes of the people. They even went so far as to declare the Stadtholdership, as well as the offices of Captain and Admiral-General, hereditary in all the Prince's descendants, male and female—a circumstance unprecedented since the foundation of the Republic.

This change which happened in the Stadtholdership did not, however, prevent the French from making new conquests. They had no sooner got possession of Dutch Flanders, than they attacked the town of Maestricht. The Duke of Cumberland having advanced with the allied army to cover the town, a bloody battle took place near Laveld (July 2. 1747), which was gained by the French, under the command of Marshal Saxe. The fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom, which was deemed impregnable by its situation and the marshes which surrounded it, was carried by assault by Count Lewendal, two months after he had opened his trenches.

However brilliant the success of the French arms was on the Continent, they failed in almost all their maritime expeditions. The English took from them Louisburg and Cape Breton in America ; and completely destroyed the French marine, which had

been much neglected, under the ministry of Cardinal Fleury. All the belligerent powers at length felt the necessity of peace; and there were two events which tended to accelerate it. The Empress of Russia, conformable to the engagements into which she had entered with the Courts of Vienna and London, by the treaties of 1746 and 1747, had despatched Prince Repnin to the Rhine, at the head of 30,000 men. Marshal Saxe, at the same time, had laid siege to Maestricht, in presence of the enemy, who were 80,000 strong. The taking of that city would have laid open all Holland to the French, and threatened the Republic with the most disastrous consequences.

A preliminary treaty was then signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, which was followed by a definitive peace (Oct. 18. 1748). There all former treaties since that of Westphalia were renewed; a mutual restitution was made on both sides, of all conquests made during the war, both in Europe, and in the East and West Indies; and in consideration of the important restitutions which France had made on the Continent, they ceded to Don Philip, the son-in-law of Louis XV., and brother of Don Carlos, the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla; to be possessed by him and his lawful heirs male. The treaty of preliminaries contained two conditions upon which the duchies of Parma and Guastalla should revert to the Queen, and that of Placentia to the King of Sardinia; viz. (1.) Failing the male descendants of Don Philip, (2.) If Don Carlos, King of the Two Sicilies, should be called to the throne of Spain. In this latter case, it was presumed that the kingdom of the Two Sicilies should pass to Don Philip, the younger brother

of that prince ; but they did not seem to recollect that the peace of Vienna (1738) had secured this latter kingdom to Don Carlos, and all his descendants male and female ; and consequently, nothing prevented that prince, should the case so happen, from transferring the Two Sicilies to one of his own younger sons ; supposing even that he were not permitted to unite that kingdom with the Spanish monarchy. The plenipotentiaries having perceived this oversight after the conclusion of the preliminaries, took care to rectify it in the definitive treaty, by thus wording the second clause of the reversion, “ *Should Don Philip, or any of his descendants, be either called to the throne of Spain, or to that of the Two Sicilies.*”

The Empress agreed to this change, but the King of Sardinia was not so complaisant. In respect to him, it was necessary to make the definitive treaty entirely conformable to the preliminaries. It was this circumstance which prevented the King of the Two Sicilies, from acceding to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. By that treaty the King of Sardinia was confirmed in those different possessions in the Milanois which the treaty of Worms had adjudged him. These, however, did not include that part of Placentia which had just been ceded to Don Philip ; nor the marquisate of Finale, which the Genoese retained. That Republic, and the Duke of Modena, who had always been the ally of France, were restored to the same state in which they were before the war. Silesia was guaranteed to the King of Prussia by the whole of the contracting powers. As for England, besides guaranteeing the British succession in favour of the House of Hanover, she obtained a renewal of the expul-

sion of the Pretender from the soil of France ; while this latter power, victorious on the continent, consented to revive the humiliating clause in the treaty of Utrecht, which ordered the demolition of the Port of Dunkirk. The only modification which was made to this clause was, that the fortifications of the place on the land side should be preserved. Lastly, by the sixteenth article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the contract of the *Asiento* respecting the slave trade granted to England by the treaty of Utrecht, was renewed in favour of the English Company of the *Asiento*, for the four years in which that trade had been interrupted during the war. ⁴

This peace produced no considerable change on the political state of Europe ; but by maintaining the King of Prussia in his conquest of Silesia, it raised a rival to Austria in the very centre of the Empire. The unity of the Germanic body was thus broken, and that body divided between the two leading powers, Austria and Prussia. The system of aggrandizement and convenience which Frederic the Great had put in practice for depriving Austria of Silesia came afterwards into vogue ; and by gradually undermining the system of equilibrium, which former treaties had introduced, it occasioned new revolutions in Europe.

The dispute about the Austrian succession, extended its influence to the North, where it kindled a war between Russia and Sweden. The Empress Anne, a little before her death (Oct. 17. 1740), had destined as her successor on the throne of Russia, the young prince Iwan or John, the son of her niece Anne of Mecklenburg, by Prince Anthony Ulric of Brunswick. The Regency during

the minority of Iwan, was conferred on her favourite Biron, whom she had raised to the first offices of the state, and created Duke of Courland. The mother of the young Emperor, indignant at seeing the management of affairs in the hands of a favourite, gained over to her interests Field-Marshal Munich, by whose assistance the Duke of Courland was arrested and banished to Siberia, whilst she herself was proclaimed Grand Duchess and Regent of the Empire.

The ministry of this princess were divided in their opinions, on the subject of the war about the Austrian succession. Some supported the cause of Prussia, with which Russia had just renewed her treaties of alliance; while others were inclined for Austria, the ancient ally of Russia. This latter party having prevailed, France, in order to prevent Russia from assisting Maria Theresa, thought proper to give her some occupation in the North. It was by no means difficult to raise Sweden against her; where the faction of the *Hats*, then the ruling party, was entirely devoted to the French interest. This faction, which was opposed by that of the *Bonnets*, or *Caps*, renewed the treaty of subsidy with France, and also concluded a treaty of perpetual alliance against Russia (Dec. 22. 1789.) Encouraged by the young nobles, they flattered themselves that the time was come, when Sweden would repair the losses which she had sustained by the foolish expeditions of Charles XII.

A Diet extraordinary was assembled at Stockholm (Aug. 1741), which declared war against Russia. They alleged, among other motives, the exclusion of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, and the Duke of Holstein-Got-

torp, from the throne of Russia; the assassination of Major Sinclair, who had been murdered, as the Swedes affirmed, by the emissaries of Russia, while bearing despatches from Constantinople for the Swedish court, and when he was passing through Silesia on his way to Stockholm. This declaration of war had been made, before the Swedes could take those measures which prudence should have dictated. They had neither an army fit for action, nor stores prepared in Finland; and their General, Count Lewenhaupt, had nothing to recommend him but his devotion to the ruling party. Sweden had flattered herself that the Turks would recommence the war with Russia, and that she would thus find resources in the alliance and subsidies of France. The first action, which took place near Wilmanstrand (Sept. 3. 1741) was quite in favour of the Russians; a great number of Swedes were there either killed or made prisoners, and the town of Wilmanstrand was carried sword-in-hand.

Meantime a revolution happened at St Petersburg, which seemed to have brought about a favourable change for the Swedish government. The Princess Elizabeth, supported by the Marquis de la Chetardie, minister of France, and by a company of the guards whom she had drawn over to her interest, seized the Regent Anne, her husband the Prince of Brunswick, and the young Emperor; all of whom she sent into exile, and caused herself to be proclaimed Empress. The Swedes, who had flattered themselves with having aided in placing that prince on the throne, immediately entered into negotiations with her; but as they carried their pretensions too high, the conference was broken off, and the war continued.

The campaign of 1742, proved also unfortunate for Sweden. Their army in Finland, though equal in point of strength to that of Russia, durst not keep the field. They abandoned all their best posts one after another, and retired towards Helsingfors, beyond the river Kymen. Shut up in this position, and besieged by sea and land, they were obliged to capitulate. The Swedish troops returned home, the Finnish regiments laid down their arms, and the whole of Finland surrendered to the Russians.

The States of Sweden having assembled under these circumstances, and being desirous of an accommodation with Russia, offered the throne of Sweden to Charles Ulric, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, and nephew of the Empress Elizabeth. That prince, however, declined the offer of the Diet. He had just been declared Grand Duke, and presumptive heir to the Russian Empire, and had embraced the Greek religion. This intelligence astounded the Diet, who then placed on the list of candidates for the throne, the Prince Royal of Denmark, the Duke of Deux-Ponts, and the Bishop of Lubec, uncle to the new Grand Duke of Russia. A considerable party were inclined for the Prince of Denmark; and they were on the point of renewing the ancient union of the three kingdoms of the North in his favour. To prevent an election so prejudicial to the interests of Prussia, the Empress abated from the rigour of her first propositions, and offered to restore to the Swedes a great part of their conquests, on condition of bestowing their throne on Prince Adolphus Frederic, Bishop of Lubec. This condition having been acceded to, Prince Frederic was elected (July 8.

1743); the succession to descend to his male heirs. A definitive peace was then concluded between Russia and Sweden, at Abo in Finland.

Sweden, by thus renouncing her alliance with the Porte, ratified anew all that she had surrendered to Russia by the peace of Nystadt. Moreover, she ceded to that Crown the province of Kymenegard in Finland, with the towns and fortresses of Friedrichsham and Wilmanstrand; as also the parish of Pyttis, lying to the east of the Kymen, and the ports, places, and districts, situated at the mouth of that river. The islands lying on the south and west of the Kymen were likewise included in this cession; as were also the town and fortress of Nyslott, with its territory. All the rest of Finland was restored to Sweden, together with the other conquests which Russia had made during the war. The Swedes were permitted to purchase annually in the Russian Ports of the Baltic, and the Gulf of Finland, grain to the value of 50,000 rubles, without paying any export duty.

Portugal, about the middle of the eighteenth century, became the scene of various memorable events, which attracted general attention. John V., who had governed that kingdom from 1706 till 1750, had fallen into a state of weakness and dotage, and abandoned the reins of government to Don Gaspard, his confessor, under whose administration numerous abuses had crept into the state. Joseph I., the son and successor of John V., on ascending the throne (July 31. 1750), undertook to reform these abuses. By the advice of his minister, Sebastian De Carvalho, afterwards created Count D'Oeyras, and Marquis De Pom-bal, he turned his attention to every branch of the

administration. He patronised the arts and sciences, encouraged agriculture, manufactures, and commerce ; regulated the finances ; and used every effort to raise the army and navy of Portugal from that state of languor into which they had fallen. These innovations could not be accomplished without exciting discontent in the different orders of the state. Sebastian increased this by his inflexible severity, and the despotism which he displayed in the exercise of his ministerial functions ; as well as by the antipathy which he showed against the nobility and the ministers of religion. The Companies which he instituted for exclusive commerce to the Indies, Africa, and China, raised against him the whole body of merchants in the kingdom. He irritated the nobility by the contempt which he testified towards them, and by annexing to the Crown those immense domains in Africa and America, which the nobles enjoyed by the munificence of former kings. The most powerful and the most dangerous enemies of this minister were the Jesuits, whom he had ventured to attack openly, and had even ordered to be expelled from Portugal. Of this event, which was attended with remarkable consequences, it will be necessary that we give some account.

During the life of John V., a treaty had been signed between the Courts of Madrid and Lisbon (1750), in virtue of which the Portuguese colony of St Sacrament and the northern bank of the river La Plata in America, were ceded to Spain, in exchange for a part of Paraguay, lying on the eastern bank of the Uruguay. This treaty was on the point of being carried into execution ; the

commissioners appointed for this purpose had commenced their labours ; but the inhabitants of the ceded territories opposed the exchange, as did several individuals in both Courts. The Jesuits were suspected of being the authors and instigators of that opposition. In the territories which were to be ceded to Portugal, they had instituted a republic of the natives, which they governed as absolute masters ; and which they were afraid would be subverted, if the exchange in question should take place. They used every means, therefore, to thwart the arrangements of the two courts ; and it is alleged they even went so far as to excite a rebellion among the inhabitants of the countries to be exchanged. The consequence was, a long and expensive war between the two crowns, which occasioned much bloodshed, and cost Portugal alone nearly twenty millions of cruzados.

In the midst of these events, there occurred a terrible earthquake, which, in the twinkling of an eye, demolished the greater part of Lisbon, and destroyed between twenty and thirty thousand of its inhabitants (Nov. 1. 1755). Fire consumed whatever had escaped from the earthquake ; while the overflowing of the sea, cold and famine, added to the horrors of these calamities, which extended even over a great part of the kingdom. The Jesuits were reproached for having, at the time of this distressing event, announced new disasters, which were to overwhelm Portugal, as a punishment for the sins of which the inhabitants had been guilty. These predictions, added to the commotions which still continued in Brazil, served as a pretext for depriving the Jesuits of their office of Court-confessors, shutting them

out from the palace, and even interdicting them from hearing confessions over the whole kingdom.

The outrage which was committed against the King's person immediately after, furnished the minister with another pretext against that religious order. The King, when going by night to Belem, (Sept. 3. 1758), was attacked by assassins, who mistook him for another, and fired several shots at him, by which he was severely wounded. Several of the first nobles in the kingdom were accused, among others the Duke d'Aveiro, the Marquis and Marchioness de Tavora, the Count d'Atougia, &c. as being the ringleaders in this plot against the King's life, who were sentenced to execution accordingly, [though their innocence was afterwards fully established.]

The Jesuits were also implicated in this affair, and publicly declared accomplices in the King's assassination. They were proscribed as traitors and disturbers of the public peace; their goods were confiscated; and every individual belonging to the order were embarked at once at the several ports of the kingdom, without any regard to age or infirmities, and transported to Civita Vecchia within the Pope's dominions. The Portuguese minister, apprehensive that this religious order, if preserved in the other states of Europe, would find means, sooner or later, to return to Portugal, used every endeavour to have their Society entirely suppressed. He succeeded in this attempt by means of the negotiations which he set on foot with several of the Catholic courts. In France the Society was dissolved, in virtue of the decrees issued by the parliament (1762). Paris set the first example of this. Louis XV. declared, that the Society should no longer exist within the kingdom. The Court

of Madrid, where they had two powerful enemies in the ministry, Counts d'Aranda and de Campomanes, commanded all the Jesuits to banish themselves from the territory and jurisdiction of Spain ; and, at the same time, declared their goods to be confiscated. They were likewise expelled from the kingdom of Naples ; and the order was at length entirely suppressed, by a brief of Pope Clement XIV. (July 21. 1773).⁵

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had by no means restored a good understanding between France and England. A jealous rivalry divided the two nations, which served to nourish and multiply subjects of discord between them. Besides, the activity of the French in repairing their marine, which had been destroyed in the last war, was viewed with jealousy by Great Britain, which was then aspiring to the absolute command of the sea, and was conscious that France alone was able to counteract her ambitious projects. Several matters of dispute, which the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had left undecided, still subsisted between the two nations, relative to their possessions in America. The principal of these, regarded the boundaries of Nova Scotia, Canada, and the neutral islands. Nova Scotia had been ceded to England, by the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, according to its ancient limits. These limits the French had circumscribed within the bounds of the peninsula which forms that province ; while the English insisted on extending them to the southern bank of the river St Lawrence, of which the exclusive navigation belonged to the French.

The limits of Canada were not better defined than those of Nova Scotia. The French, with the

view of opening up a communication between Canada and Louisiana, had constructed several forts along the river Ohio, on the confines of the English colonies in America. This was opposed by England, who was afraid that these establishments would endanger the safety of her colonies, especially that of Virginia. The neutral islands, namely the Caribbees, which comprehended St Lucia, Dominica, St Vincent, and Tobago, still remained in a contested state, according to the ninth article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The French, however, alleged certain acts of possession, by which they claimed the property of these islands, as well as of the Caicos and Turkish islands. Commissioners were appointed on both sides to bring these disputes to an amicable termination. A conference was opened at Paris, which began about the end of September 1750, and continued for several years; but as neither party was disposed to act with sincerity, these conferences ended in nothing. The English, who saw that the French only sought to gain time for augmenting their marine, hastened the rupture by committing acts of hostility in America.

The first breach of the peace was committed on the banks of the Ohio, where the French, to avenge the murder of one of their officers, seized on Fort Necessity, belonging to the English (July 1754). The English, on their side, captured two French vessels off the Bank of Newfoundland, which had refused to salute the English flag. They even attacked all the French merchantmen which they met, and captured about three hundred of them. Thus, a long and bloody war was waged for the

deserts and uncultivated wilds of America, which extended its ravages over all parts of the globe, involving more especially the countries of Europe.

England, according to a well known political stratagem, sought to occupy the French arms on the Continent; in order to prevent the increase of her maritime strength. France, instead of avoiding that snare, and confining herself solely to naval operations, committed the mistake of falling in with the views of the British minister. While repelling the hostilities of England by sea, she adopted at the same time measures for invading the Electorate of Hanover. The Court of London, wishing to guard against this danger, began by forming a closer alliance with Russia (Sept. 30. 1755); they demanded of the Empress those supplies which they thought they might claim in virtue of former treaties; and on the refusal of that princess, who was afraid to disoblige France, and to find herself attacked by Prussia, they applied to this latter power, with whom they concluded a treaty at Westminster (Jan. 16. 1756); the chief object of which was to prevent foreign troops from entering into the Empire during the war between France and England. To this treaty France opposed the alliance which she had concluded with Austria at Versailles, by which the two powers guaranteed their respective possessions in Europe, and promised each other a mutual supply of twenty-four thousand men in case of attack. The differences then subsisting between France and Great Britain were not reckoned among the *Casus Federis*.

[The alliance of 1756 has given rise to different opinions among statesmen; the greater part have condemned it. Its object was, on the part of

France, to guard herself against all attacks on the Continent, that she might direct her whole force against her maritime rival ; but experience proved, that without attaining this object, she was henceforth obliged to take part in all the disputes of the Continent, however foreign they might be to her own policy. It was even contrary to her interests to have Austria extricated from the embarrassments which the opposition of Prussia had occasioned her. If that project had succeeded, Austria would have become the preponderating power in Germany, to a degree which would have compelled the French to turn their arms against her.]

While the French were still hesitating as to the part which they ought to take relative to the Electorate of Hanover, the King of Prussia invaded Saxony (Aug. 1756). On taking this step, he published a manifesto, the object of which was to prove by the dispatches of the three Courts of Vienna, Dresden, and Petersburg, that they had concerted a plan among them for attacking him ; and that common prudence required him to prevent it. He declared at the same time, that his entrance into Saxony had no other aim than that of opening up a communication with Bohemia ; and that he would only retain that country as a *depôt* until the conclusion of the peace. This invasion, however, stirred up a powerful league against Prussia (1757). Besides France and the Empress, it was joined by the Germanic body, Prussia and Sweden. France, which had at first restricted herself to furnishing the Empress with the supplies stipulated by the alliance, agreed, by a subsequent treaty, to dispatch an army of more than 100,000 men into Germany, against the King of Prussia, and his ally the King of Eng-

land; and, moreover, to pay to that Princess an annual subsidy of twelve millions of florins.

In this war the French arms were attended at first with the most brilliant success. They conquered the island of Minorca, and seized the Electorate of Hesse, and the whole States of Brunswick and Hanover; but fortune soon turned her back on them, when they experienced nothing but defeats and disasters.⁶ The extraordinary efforts which they were making on the Continent naturally tended to relax their maritime operations, and thus afforded England the means of invading their possessions in other parts of the world. In the years 1757 and 1761, Chandernagore, Pondicherry, and Mahé, in the East Indies, fell into the hands of the English; and in 1758, they seized on all the French settlements on the river Senegal and the coasts of Africa. The Islands of Cape Breton and St John in America; the forts and settlements on the Ohio; Quebec (where General Wolfe fell), and the whole of Canada, were all conquered in like manner, between the years 1756 and 1760. Finally, the Islands of Guadalupe, Mariagalante, Dominica, Martinique, Grenada, St Vincent, St Lucia, and Tobago, were also taken from France.

The King of Prussia, though overwhelmed by the number of his enemies, and finding no great assistance from his alliance with England, nevertheless did not lose courage. He distinguished himself by the number of victories which he gained over the powers leagued against him, during the campaigns of the Seven Years' War.⁷ This war was already far advanced, when the Duke de Choiseul, who was then at the head of the French ministry, observing the great superiority of the

English by sea, conceived the plan of the famous *Family Compact*, which he negotiated with the Court of Madrid, and which was concluded at Paris (August 15. 1761). The object of this treaty was to cement an alliance and a perpetual union among the different branches of the House of Bourbon, for the purpose of counterbalancing the maritime power of England.

The King of Spain had come under no engagement to join in the war which subsisted between France and England; but the haughty manner in which the Court of London exacted the fulfilment of that treaty, gave rise to a declaration of war between these two courts. Spain and France demanded of the King of Portugal that he would accede to their alliance against England. That prince in vain alleged the treaties which connected him with the English nation, and which would not permit him to take part against them. One declaration, published by the two allied courts, set forth, that the Spanish troops should enter Portugal to secure the ports of that kingdom; and that it should be left at the King's option to receive them as friends or as enemies; and it was this which laid him under the necessity of declaring himself in favour of England (May 18. 1762). An English fleet, with a supply of troops, was then sent to the relief of Portugal; while a body of French troops joined the Spanish army which was destined to act against that kingdom. The city of Almeida was the only conquest which the Spaniards made in Portugal. The English, on the contrary, took from the Spaniards the Havanna, and the Island of Cuba in America; as also Manila and the Philippines in the Indian Ocean.

The war thus became more general, and seemed about to assume a new vigour, when an unforeseen event changed entirely the face of affairs, and disposed the belligerents for peace.

Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, died about this time; and Peter III., nephew to that princess, ascended the throne. Peter, who was a great admirer of the King of Prussia, took an early opportunity of making peace with that prince. A suspension of arms was signed between the two crowns, which was followed by a treaty of peace concluded at St Petersburg (May 5. 1762). By that treaty, Russia surrendered all the conquests which she had made in Prussia and Pomerania during the war. Peter renounced the alliances which he had formerly contracted against the King of Prussia; while he, in his turn, refused to form alliances or engagements contrary to the interests of Russia, or to the hereditary possessions of Peter in Germany. But the new Emperor was not content with testifying this mark of affection for the King of Prussia. He agreed to send a body of troops into Silesia to his assistance. A revolution, however, happened in Russia, which occasioned new changes. Peter III. was dethroned (July 9.), after a reign of six months. The Empress Catherine II., his widow, on ascending the throne, preserved the treaty of peace with the King of Prussia; but she recalled her troops from Silesia, and declared that she would maintain neutrality between the King and the Empress.

Sweden, who had experienced nothing but defeats in course of that war, followed the example of Russia. She agreed to a suspension of arms with the King of Prussia, and soon after concluded

a treaty of peace with him at Hamburg (May 22. 1762). These two treaties paved the way for a general peace, the preliminaries of which were signed at Fountainbleau, between France, England, Spain and Portugal. The definitive peace was concluded at Paris (Feb. 10. 1763). This treaty was followed by that of Hubertsburg, which reconciled Prussia with the Empress and the Elector of Saxony.

By this latter treaty, the Empress surrendered to the King of Prussia the province of Glatz, as also the fortresses of Wesel and Gueldres. The Elector of Saxony again took possession of those States of which the King of Prussia had been deprived; and the treaties of Breslau, Berlin and Dresden, were renewed. Thus, after seven campaigns, as sanguinary as they were expensive, the peace of Hubertsburg restored the affairs of Germany to the same state in which they had been before the war.

France, by the treaty of Paris, ceded to England, Canada and the island of Cape Breton, with the islands and coasts of the Gulf and River of St Lawrence. The boundaries between the two nations in North America were fixed by a line drawn along the middle of the Mississippi, from its source to its mouth. All on the left or eastern bank of that river was given up to England, except the city of New Orleans, which was reserved to France; as was also the liberty of the fisheries on a part of the coasts of Newfoundland, and the Gulf of St Lawrence. The islands of St Peter and Miquelon were given them as a shelter for their fishermen, but without permission to raise fortifications. The islands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, Mariagalante, Desirada, and St Lucia, were sur-

rendered to France; while Grenada, the Grenadines, St Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, were ceded to England. This latter power retained her conquests on the Senegal, and restored to France the island of Goree on the coast of Africa. France was put in possession of the forts and factories which belonged to her in the East Indies, on the coasts of Coromandel, Orissa, Malabar, and Bengal, under the restriction of keeping up no military force in Bengal.

In Europe, France restored all the conquests she had made in Germany; as also the island of Minorca. England gave up to her Belleisle on the coast of Brittany; while Dunkirk was kept in the same condition as had been determined by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The island of Cuba, with the Havanna, were restored to the King of Spain, who, on his part, ceded to England Florida, with Fort-Augustine and the Bay of Penzacola. The King of Portugal was restored to the same state in which he had been before the war. The colony of St Sacrament in America, which the Spaniards had conquered, was given back to him.⁸

The peace of Paris, of which we have just now spoken, was the era of England's greatest prosperity. Her commerce and navigation extended over all parts of the globe, and were supported by a naval force, so much the more imposing, as it was no longer counterbalanced by the maritime power of France, which had been almost annihilated in the preceding war. The immense territories which that peace had secured her, both in Africa and America, opened up new channels for her industry; and, what deserves especially to be

remarked, is, that she acquired at the same time vast and important possessions in the East Indies.

[Her influence, however, on the politics of the Continent, diminished rather than increased, after the peace of Paris. Her ally, Frederic II., having been abandoned by the Cabinet of London, attached himself to Russia; while, on the other side, Austria had been estranged from Great Britain by the treaties of 1756 and 1758. Holland and Portugal were thus the only states which remained in strict alliance with the Court of England.]

The Empire of the Great Mogul in India had fallen into decay about the beginning of the eighteenth century. The viceroys and petty governors of the Empire, called *Soubahs* and *Nabobs*, had become independent; and usurped the prerogatives of royalty in the districts under their authority; while the Mogul Emperor, reduced almost to the single city of Delhi, his capital, preserved nothing but the shadow of sovereign power, by means of the investitures which he granted to these ambitious princes, and the coinage that was struck in his name. Whenever any differences arose among these princes, they usually had recourse to the European nations, who had settlements in India, and had erected forts with the consent of the Great Mogul, where they kept an armed force for the protection of their commerce. If the French took the part of one nabob, it was sufficient for the English to espouse the quarrel of his adversary; and while the two nations were mutually cultivating peace in Europe, they were often at the same time making war in India, by

furnishing supplies to their respective allies. Success was for a long time equal on both sides ; and it was not until the war of 1755, and by the victories and conquests of the famous Lord Clive, that England obtained a decided ascendancy over the French in that quarter of the world.

Sourajah Dowlah, the Soubah of Bengal, instigated, as is supposed, by the French, had taken possession of Calcutta (1756), the principal settlement of the English on the Ganges. His cruel treatment of the English garrison, which he had made prisoners of war, excited the resentment of that nation. To avenge this outrage, Colonel Clive, supported by Admiral Watson, retook Calcutta (Jan. 1757); and after having dispossessed the French of Chandernagore, their principal establishment on the Ganges, he vanquished the Soubah in several actions, deposed him, and put in his place Jaffier Ali Khan, his general and prime minister, who was entirely devoted to England.

With this era commences the foundation of the British Empire in India. It happened a short time after, that the Mogul Emperor, Shah Allum, being driven from his capital by the Patans, an Indian tribe, solicited the protection of the English, who availed themselves of this occasion, as well as of the death of Jaffier Ali, which happened at this time (Aug. 12. 1765), to get themselves vested by treaty, and by means of an Imperial charter, in the sovereignty of all Bengal. In virtue of this title, which legitimized their power in the eyes of the people, they seized on the public revenues of the kingdoms of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa ; with the reservation of an annual tribute, which they promised to pay to the Mogul Emperor, and certain pensions which they

assigned to the Soufahs, whose phantom power they disposed of at their pleasure. The dominion of the English in India, was increased still more by subsequent conquests; the most important of which was the powerful state of Mysore, which they utterly overthrew, after a series of wars which they carried on with Hyder Ali, and his successor Tippoo Saib.⁹

[The death of Ferdinand IV., King of Spain, was an event of some importance. He was succeeded by his brother Don Carlos, King of the Two Sicilies, and eldest son of Philip V. by his second marriage, who assumed the title of Charles III. Under this prince the philosophy of the eighteenth century penetrated into Spain, where it displayed an energy, and gave rise to consequences, which had not yet attended it in France. It occasioned the downfall of the Jesuits, which was accompanied by deeds repugnant to justice and humanity. The ministers and councillors of that monarch, the Counts Arranda, Florida Blanca, and Campomanes, introduced into the internal administration of Spain, especially its finances and tactics, an order and regularity which had been long unknown in that country. Agriculture, commerce, and industry were beginning to recover from their languor, when the American war again threw them into a state of fatal depression.]

Before quitting Naples to take possession of the throne of Spain, Don Carlos, who, as King of the Two Sicilies, had the title of Charles VII., published a fundamental law, bearing, that agreeably to former treaties which did not admit the union of the Italian States with the Spanish monarchy, he transferred the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to his third son Don Ferdinand; as his eldest son,

Don Philip, was incapable of reigning, and his second, Don Carlos, was destined for the throne of Spain. He intrusted the administration to a regency, during the nonage of the young prince, whose majority was fixed at the age of seventeen. By this law he regulated the order of succession which was to take place in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and which was the same as that which Philip V. had established in Spain at the Cortes of 1713. After the descendants male and female of his own body, Charles substituted his brothers Don Philip, Duke of Parma, and Don Louis; adding, that the kingdom of the Two Sicilies should never in any case be united with the Spanish monarchy. This regulation of the new King of Spain accorded perfectly with the terms of the seventh article of the treaty of Vienna (1798), which secured the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to that prince and his descendants, male and female; and failing them, to his younger brothers and their descendants, of both sexes.

The King of Sardinia continued, however, to enforce his right of reversion to that part of Placentia, which the fourth article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had secured to him, in case Don Carlos should remove from the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to the crown of Spain. The Court of France, wishing to retain that possession for Don Philip, and to prevent the tranquillity of Italy from being disturbed by the pretensions of the King of Sardinia, engaged to procure that prince an equivalent with which he should have reason to be satisfied. This equivalent was settled (June 10. 1768) by a convention concluded at Paris, between France, Spain, and the King of Sardinia. The

latter consented to restrict his right of reversion in the two cases specified in the seventh article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; viz. (1.) Failing the male descendants of Don Philip; (2.) Should that prince, or one of his descendants, be called either to the throne of Spain or to that of the Two Sicilies; and should one or other of these two cases happen in the meantime, the crowns of France and Spain engaged that the King of Sardinia should enjoy the same amount of annual revenue, which might accrue to him (after deducting the expenses of administration), from that part of Placentia on the Nura, should he ever come into actual possession. For this purpose, France undertook, by a special agreement, which was signed at Paris the same day with the preceding, to pay the King of Sardinia, by twelve instalments, the sum of eight millions two hundred livres; on condition of reverting to France, should one or other of these alternatives happen.

The sudden aggrandisement of Russia, since the time of Peter the Great, had changed the political system of the North. That power had raised herself to the first rank. She dictated the law to Poland and Sweden, her ancient rivals; disposed of the throne of Poland on every change of reign; and at the same time decided the fate of Courland. That duchy, which had long been possessed by the family of Kettler who held it as a fief of the crown of Poland, had become vacant on the death of the Duke Ferdinand, the last male descendant of that House. Ann, Empress of Russia, being then only Duchess of Courland, had a favourite, named Ernest John Biron, a man raised by

fortune, whose grandfather had been groom to James III., Duke of Courland. When that princess mounted the throne of Russia, she raised Biron to the rank of Count, and to the office of Great Chamberlain and Prime Minister. The haughty favourite assumed the name and arms of the family of Biron, in France; and prevailed with the Empress to grant him the duchy of Courland. At the death of the last Duke, he even succeeded in getting himself elected by the States of that country (1737); with the aid of a body of Russian troops, which the Empress had sent to Mittau, to support his election. He was invested in the duchy by the Republic of Poland, to be possessed by himself and his heirs-male; but he did not long enjoy this new dignity. He was deprived of it on the death of the Empress (1740); and banished to Siberia by the Grand Duchess Ann, mother of the young Emperor. This princess caused a new election to be made by the nobility of Courland. The duchy was then conferred on Louis Ernest, Prince of Brunswick, who was to marry Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great. But the young Emperor, Iwan, having been dethroned immediately after, the Prince of Brunswick never obtained possession of the duchy. The Empress Elizabeth having declared to the Republic of Poland that the Duke de Biron should never be liberated from his exile, Augustus III., King of Poland, declared the duchy of Courland vacant. He then prevailed on the States of that country to elect his own son, Prince Charles, whom he solemnly invested in the duchy (1759).

A new change happened at the death of the Empress Elizabeth, in 1762. Peter III., on his

accession to the throne of Russia, recalled the Duke de Biron from his exile. The Empress, Catherine II., who succeeded her husband that same year, went even farther than this ; she demanded the restoration of de Biron to the duchy of Courland, and obliged Prince Charles of Saxony to give it up to him (1769). The Duke de Biron then resigned the duchy to his son Peter, who, after a reign of twenty-five years, gave in his demission to the Empress ; when the States of Courland and Semigallia made a formal submission to Russia (March 28. 1795).

The dethronement of Peter III., which we have just mentioned, was an event very favourable to Denmark, as it relieved that kingdom from a ruinous war with which it was threatened on the part of the Emperor. Peter III. was the head of the House of Holstein-Gottorp, whom Denmark had deprived of their possessions in Sleswick, by taking advantage of the disasters that befel Sweden, which had protected that family against the Danish kings. The Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp exclaimed against that usurpation ; to which the Court of Denmark had nothing to oppose, except their right of conquest, and the guarantee which the Kings of France and England, as mediators in the treaty of Stockholm, had given to Denmark with respect to Sleswick.

Peter III. was scarcely seated on the throne of Russia, when he began to concert means for recovering his ancient patrimonial domains, and avenging the wrongs which the Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp, his ancestors, had received at the hands of Denmark. Being determined to make war against that power, he attached the King of Prussia to his

came, and marched a Russian army of 60,000 men towards the frontiers of Denmark. Six thousand Prussians were to join this army, which was supported by a Russian fleet to be stationed on the coasts of Pomerania. The King of Denmark made every effort to repel the invasion with which he was threatened. He set on foot an army of 70,000 men, the command of which he intrusted to M. de St Germain, a distinguished French officer.

The Danish army advanced towards Mecklenburg, and established their head-quarters in the town of that name, one league from Wismar. The Danish fleet, consisting of twenty sail of the line and eleven frigates, appeared at the sametime off Rostock. The flames of war were about to kindle in the North, and Peter III. was on the point of joining his army in person at Mecklenburg, when he was dethroned, after a short reign of six months (July 9. 1762). The Empress Catharine II., who succeeded him, did not think fit to espouse the quarrel of her husband. She immediately recalled the Russian army from Mecklenburg; and being desirous of establishing the tranquillity of the North on a solid basis, and confirming a good understanding between the two principal branches of the House of Holstein, she agreed, by a treaty of alliance with the King of Denmark (1765), to terminate all these differences by a provisional arrangement, which was not to take effect until the majority of the Grand Duke Paul, the son of Peter III.

This accommodation between the two Courts was signed at Copenhagen (April 22. 1762). The Empress, in the name of her son, gave up her claim to the ducal part of Sleswick, occupied by the

King of Denmark. She ceded, moreover, to that sovereign a portion of Holstein, possessed by the family of Gottorp, in exchange for the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst. It was agreed, that these counties should be erected into duchies, and that the ancient suffrage of Holstein-Gottorp, at the Imperial Diet, should be transferred to them. This provisional treaty was ratified when the Grand Duke came of age; and the transference of the ceded territories took place in 1773. At the same time that prince declared, that he designed the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst to form an establishment for a younger branch of his family, that of Eutin; to which the contracting powers also secured the bishopric of Lubec, to be held in perpetual possession. The Bishop of Lubec, the head of the younger branch of the Gottorp family, was that same year put in possession of the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst; and the Emperor Joseph II. erected these counties into a duchy and fief-male of the Empire, under the title of the Duchy of Holstein-Oldenburg.

Here it will be necessary to advert to the revolutions that took place in the Island of Corsica, which, after a long series of troubles and distractions, passed from the dominion of Genoa to that of France. The oppressions which the Corsicans had suffered under the Government of the Genoese, who treated them with extreme rigour, had rendered their yoke odious and insupportable. They rose several times in rebellion against the Republicans; but from the want of union among themselves, they failed in the different attempts which

they made for effecting their liberty and independence.

One of the last insurrections of the Corsicans was that of 1729. They chose for their leader Andrew Ceccaldi of a noble family in the Island, and Luigi Giafferi, a man of courage and an enthusiast for liberty. The Genoese, after trying in vain to subdue the insurgents, were obliged to have recourse to the protection of foreigners. They applied to the Emperor Charles VI., who sent them several detachments of troops under the command of General Wachtendonk, and Prince Frederic Louis of Wurtemberg. The Corsicans, too feeble to oppose an enemy so superior in strength, were glad to lay down their arms. But the war about the Polish Succession having obliged the Emperor to withdraw his troops, the Islanders raised a new insurrection. A general assembly was then convened, which declared Corsica to be a free and independent republic (1734). Giafferi, was reelected General, and had for his colleague Hyacinthus Paoli, father to the famous general of that name. Thus the Genoese, after lavishing much expense on auxiliary troops, had the mortification to find themselves still in the same condition in which they were, before receiving the Imperial succours. They then took into their pay bodies of Swiss and Grison troops; and even enlisted outlaws and vagabonds, and placed them in their ranks to oppose the Corsicans.

It happened, during these transactions, that an adventurer appeared in Corsica, the celebrated Theodore Baron Neuhof. He was descended of a noble family in the county of Mark, in Westphalia; and having procured arms and ammunition

at Tunis, he repaired to Corsica (1736), where he was determined to try his fortune. His engaging manners, added to the prospects which he held out of a powerful foreign assistance, induced the Corsicans to confer on him the royal dignity. He was proclaimed King of Corsica, and immediately assumed the external badges of royalty. He appointed guards and officers of state, coined money in his own name, and created an order of knighthood, called the *Redemption*. Taking advantage of the enthusiasm with which he had inspired the Corsicans, he boldly made war on the Genoese, and laid several of their places under blockade. But his money being exhausted, and the people beginning to cool in their attachment towards him, he took the determination of applying for assistance to foreigners. He embarked for Holland, where he found means to engage a society of merchants, by the allurements of a lucrative commerce with Corsica, to furnish him with artillery, ammunition and other supplies, with which he returned to the Island.

Under these circumstances, the Genoese, threatened with losing for ever their sovereignty over Corsica, entered into an association with the Court of Versailles. This Court, fearing that England would take advantage of these disturbances to get possession of the Island, concerted measures with the Court of Vienna, for obliging the Corsicans to return to their allegiance to the Genoese. For this purpose, a plan of pacification was drawn up at Versailles, and Count de Boissieux was charged to carry it into execution. This General landed in the Island (1738), at the head of a body of French auxiliaries; and his arrival determined King

Theodore to abandon Corsica, and seek his safety in flight. He retired to London, where he was imprisoned for debt. After a long captivity he was set at liberty, and died in a state of misery (1756). Boissieux harassed the Corsicans exceedingly, but he failed in his efforts to reduce them to submission. His successor, the Marquis de Maillebois, was more fortunate; he took his measures with such precision and vigour, that he obliged the Islanders to lay down their arms, and receive the law from the conqueror. Their Generals, Giafferi and Paoli, retired to Naples.

The war of the Austrian Succession, having obliged the French Court to recall their troops from Corsica, that island became the scene of new disturbances. Gafforio and Matra then took upon them the functions of generalship, and the direction of affairs. They had a colleague and co-adjutor in the person of Count Rivarola, a native of Corsica, who, with the assistance of some English vessels succeeded in expelling the Genoese from Bastia and San Fiorenzo. The Corsicans might have pushed their advantages much farther, if they could have subdued their own feuds and private animosities, and employed themselves solely in promoting the public interest; but their internal divisions retarded their success, and allowed their enemies to recover the places they had conquered. Rivarola and Matra having resigned the command, the sole charge devolved on Gafforio, who was a man of rare merit and of tried valour. He was beginning to civilize his countrymen, and to give some stability to the government of the island, when he was assassinated, as is supposed, by the emissaries of the Genoese (1753). His death

plunged Corsica once more into the state of disorder and anarchy, from which he had laboured to deliver it.

At length appeared the celebrated Pascal Paoli, whom his aged father had brought from Naples to Corsica. Being elected General-in-chief by his countrymen (1755), he inspired them with fresh courage; and while he carried on the war with success against the Genoese, he made efforts to reform abuses in the State, and to encourage agriculture, letters and arts. Nothing was wanting to accomplish this object, and to confirm the liberty and independence of his country, but the expulsion of the Genoese from the maritime towns of Bastia, San Fiorenzo, Calvi, Algagliola and Ajaccio; the only places which still remained in their power. In this he would probably have succeeded, had he not met with new interruptions from France, who had undertaken, by the several treaties which she had concluded with the Genoese in the years 1752, 1755, 1756 and 1764, to defend their ports and fortifications in that island.

The original intention of the French, in taking possession of these places, was not to carry on hostilities with Paoli and the natives, but simply to retain them for a limited time, in discharge of a debt which the French government had contracted with the Republic of Genoa. The Genoese had flattered themselves, that if exonerated from the duty of guarding the fortified places, they would be able, with their own forces, to reconquer all the rest of the island; but it was not long till they found themselves deceived in their expectations. The Corsicans drove the Genoese from the

island of Capraja (1767). They even took possession of Ajaccio, and some other parts which the French had thought fit to abandon. At the same time the shipping of the Corsicans made incessant incursions on the Genoese, and annoyed their commerce.

The Senate of Genoa, convinced at last that it was impossible for them to subdue the island, and seeing the time approach when the French troops were to take their departure, took the resolution of surrendering their rights over Corsica to the crown of France, by a treaty which was signed at Versailles (May 15. 1768). The King promised to restore the island of Capraja to the Republic. He guaranteed to them all their possessions on *terra firma*; and engaged to pay them annually for ten years, the sum of 200,000 livres. The Genoese reserved to themselves the right of reclaiming the sovereignty of Corsica, on reimbursing the King for the expenses of the expedition he was about to undertake, as well as for the maintenance of his troops. This treaty occasioned strong remonstrances on the part of the Corsicans, who prepared themselves for a vigorous defence. The first campaign turned to their advantage. It cost France several thousand men, and about thirty millions of expenses. The Duke de Choiseul, far from being discouraged by these disasters, transported a strong force into the island. He put the Count de Vaux in the place of the Marquis de Chauvelin, who, by the skilful dispositions which he made, found himself master of all Corsica, in less than two months. The Islanders not having received from England the supplies which they had requested, the prospect of which had kept up their courage, considered it rash and hopeless to make

longer resistance. The different provinces, in their turn, gave in their submission; and the principal leaders of the Cossacks dispersed themselves among the neighbouring States. Pascal Paoli took refuge in England.

The throne of Poland having become vacant by the death of Augustus III. (Oct. 5. 1763), the Empress Catherine II. destined that crown for Stanislaus Poniatowski, a Polish nobleman, who had gained her favour when he resided at St Petersburg as plenipotentiary of Poland. That princess having gained over the Court of Berlin to her interests, sent several detachments of troops into Poland; and in this manner succeeded in carrying the election of her favourite, who was proclaimed King at the Diet of Warsaw (Sept. 7. 1764). It was at this diet of election that the Empress formally interceded with the Republic in favour of the *Dissidents* (or dissenters) of Poland and Lithuania, with the view of having them reinstated in those civil and ecclesiastical rights, of which they had been deprived by the intolerance of the Catholics. The name of *Dissidents* was then given to the Protestants and Greek non-conformists in Poland, both Lutherans and Calvinists. That kingdom, as well as Lithuania, had contained from the earliest ages a vast number of Greeks, who persisted in their schism, in spite of the efforts which were incessantly made by the Polish clergy for bringing them back to the pale of the Romish church. The Protestant doctrines had been introduced into Poland, and had made considerable progress in course of the seventeenth century; more especially under the reign of Sigismund Augustus. The nobles who were attached to that form of worship, had ob-

tained, at the Diet of Wilna (1563), the right of enjoying, along with the Greeks, all the prerogatives of their rank, and of being admitted without distinction, both to the assemblies of the Diet, and the offices and dignities of the Republic. Moreover, their religious and political liberties had been guaranteed in the most solemn manner, not only by treaties of alliance, and the *Pacta Conventa* of the kings, but also by the laws and constitution of their kingdom. The Catholics having afterwards become the stronger party, their zeal, animated by their Clergy and the Jesuits, led them to persecute those whom they regarded as heretics. They had in various ways circumscribed their religious liberties, especially at the Diet of 1717; and in those of 1733 and 1736, they went so far as to exclude them from the diets and tribunals, and in general from all places of trust; only preserving the peace with them according to the ancient laws of the Republic.

The Dissidents availed themselves of the influence which the Empress of Russia had secured in the affairs of Poland, to obtain by her means the redress of their grievances. That princess interposed more especially in favour of the Greeks, according to the ninth article of the peace of Moscow between Russia and Poland (1686); while the Courts of Berlin, Stockholm, London, and Copenhagen, as guarantees of the peace of Oliva, urged the second article of that treaty in support of the Protestant dissenters. Far from yielding to an intercession so powerful, the Diet of Warsaw, instigated by the clergy and the Court of Rome, in the year 1766 confirmed all the former laws against the Protestants which the foreign courts had desired to be altered and amended.

They merely introduced some few modifications in the law of 1717, relative to the exercise of their worship.

This palliative did not satisfy the Court of St Petersburg, which persisted in demanding an entire equality of rights in favour of those under its protection. The Dissidents had the courage to resist, and entered into a confederacy at the assemblies which were held at Slucka (1767) and Thorn. Such of the Catholic nobility as were discontented with the government, allied themselves with the Dissidents, and formed several distinct confederacies, which afterwards combined into a general confederation under Marshal Prince Radzivil. An extraordinary Diet was then assembled at Warsaw. Their deliberations, which began October 5. 1767, were very tumultuous. Without being intimidated by the presence of a Russian army; the Bishop of Cracow and his adherents gave way to the full torrent of their zeal, in the discourses which they pronounced before the Diet. The Empress caused them to be arrested and conducted into the interior of Russia, whence they were not permitted to return till after an exile of several years. They agreed at length, at that Diet, to appoint a committee, composed of the different orders of the Republic, to regulate all matters regarding the Dissidents, in concert with the ministers of the protecting courts. A separate act was drawn up (February 24. 1768) in the form of a convention between Russia and Poland.

By that act, the Dissidents were reinstated in all their former rights. The regulations which had been passed to their prejudice in the years 1717,

1733, 1736, and 1766, were annulled; and a superior court, composed equally of both parties, was granted to them, for terminating all disputes which might arise between persons of different religions. This act was confirmed by the treaty of peace and alliance concluded at Warsaw between Russia and Poland (Feb. 24. 1768), by which these two powers guaranteed to each other the whole of their possessions in Europe. The Empress of Russia guaranteed, more especially, the liberty, constitution, and integrality of the Polish Republic.

The act we have just now mentioned, as well as another which modified what were called the cardinal or fundamental laws of the Republic, having displeased a great majority of the Poles, they used every effort to have these acts recalled. The Diet of 1768 was no sooner terminated, than they formed themselves into a confederacy at Bar in Podolia, for the defence of their religion and liberties. By degrees, these extended to several Palatinates, and were at length combined into a general confederation, under the Marshal Count De Pac. The standards of these confederates bore representations of the Virgin Mary and the Infant Jesus. Like the Crusaders of the middle ages, they wore embroidered crosses on their garments, with the motto *To Conquer or Die*. The Russians despatched troops to disperse the confederates as fast as they combined: But at length, with the assistance of France, and M. De Vergennes, the French Ambassador at the Porte, they succeeded in stirring up the Turks against the Russians. The war between these two Empires broke out towards the end of 1768, which proved disastrous for the Turks, and suppressed also the

confederates in Poland. The manifesto of the Grand Signior against Russia was published October 30th, and his declaration of war on December 4th 1768.

The Empress despatched several armies against the Turks, and attacked them at once from the banks of the Dneister to Mount Caucasus. Prince Alexander Galitzin, who commanded the principal army, was to cover Poland, and penetrate into Moldavia. He passed the Dneister different times, but was always repulsed by the Turks, who were not more fortunate in their attempts to force the passage of that river. On their last attempt (September 1769), twelve thousand men had succeeded in crossing it, when there happened a sudden flood which broke down the bridge, and cut off the retreat of the Turks. This body was cut to pieces by the Russians, when a panic seized the Ottoman army, who abandoned their camp and the fortress of Choczim. The Russians took possession of both without costing them a single drop of blood, and soon after penetrated into the interior of Moldavia and Wallachia.

The campaign of 1770 was most splendid for the Russians. General Romanzow, who succeeded Prince Galitzin in the command of the army of Moldavia, gained two brilliant victories over the Turks near the Pruth (July 18.) and the Kukul (August 1.), which made him master of the Danube, and the towns of Ismael, Kilia, and Akerman, situated in Bessarabia, near the mouth of that river. Another Russian army, under the command of General Count Panin, attacked the fortress of Bender, defended by a strong Turkish garrison. It was carried by assault (Sept. 26.), and

the greater part of the garrison put to the sword.

The Empress did not confine herself to repelling the Turks on the banks of the Dneister and the Danube, and harassing their commerce in the Black Sea. She formed the bold project of attacking them at the same time in the islands of the Archipelago, and on the coasts of Greece and the Morea. A Russian fleet, under the command of Alexis Orloff and Admiral Spiritoff, sailed from the Baltic, and passed the Northern Seas and the Straits of Gibraltar, on their way to the Archipelago. Being joined by the squadron of Rear-Admiral Elphinstone, they fought an obstinate battle with the fleet of the Capitan Pacha (July 5. 1770), between Scio and Anatolia. The ships of the two commanders, Spiritoff and the Capitan Pacha, having met in the engagement, one of them caught fire, when both were blown into the air. Darkness separated the combatants; but the Turks having imprudently retired to the narrow bay of Chiamé, the Russians pursued them, and burnt their whole fleet during the night. This disaster threw the city of Constantinople into great consternation; and the bad state of defence in which the Dardanelles were, gave them reason to fear, that if the Russians had known to take advantage of this panic, it would have been easy for them to have carried the Turkish capital. Rear-Admiral Elphinstone, who commanded one of the Russian squadrons, had suggested that advice; but the Russian Admirals did not think proper to follow it.

The war on the Danube was continued next year, though feebly; but the second Russian army, under the command of Prince Dolgoruki, succeeded in forcing the lines at Perekop, defended

by an army of 60,000 Turks and Tartars, commanded by the Khan of the Crimea in person. Dolgoruki, after having surmounted that formidable barrier, made himself master of the Crimea, as also of the Island of Taman; and received from the Empress, as the reward of his exploits, the surname of *Krimski*. An act was signed by certain pretended deputies from the Tartars, by which that nation renounced the dominion of the Ottomans, and put themselves under the protection of Russia (1772).

These conquests, however splendid they might be, could not fail to exhaust Russia. Obligated frequently to recruit her armies, which were constantly thinned by battles, fatigues, and diseases, she soon saw the necessity of making peace. The plague, that terrible ally of the Ottomans, passed from the army into the interior of the Empire, and penetrated as far as Moscow, where it cut off nearly 100,000 men in the course of a single year (1771). But what added still more to the embarrassments of Catherine II. was, that the Court of Vienna, which, in conjunction with that of Berlin, had undertaken to mediate between Russia and the Porte, rejected with disdain the conditions of peace proposed by the Empress. Moreover, they strongly opposed the independence of Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as of the Tartars; and would not even permit that the Russians should transfer the seat of war to the right bank of the Danube.

The Court of Vienna went even farther: It threatened to make common cause with the Turks, to compel the Empress to restore all her conquests, and to place matters between the Russians and the Turks on the footing of the treaty of Belgrade.

An agreement to this effect was negotiated with the Porte, and signed at Constantinople (July 6, 1771). This convention, however, was not ratified, the Court of Vienna having changed its mind on account of the famous dismemberment of Poland, concerted between it and the Courts of Berlin and St Petersburg. The Empress then consented to restore to the Turks the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, on the conclusion of the peace; and the Court of Vienna again engaged to exert its friendly interference in negotiating peace between Russia and the Porte.

In consequence of these events, the year 1772 was passed entirely in negotiations. A suspension of arms was agreed to between the two belligerent powers. A Congress was opened at Focșani in Moldavia, under the mediation of the Courts of Berlin and St Petersburg. This Congress was followed by another, which was held at Bucharest in Wallachia. Both of these meetings proved ineffectual, the Turks having considered the conditions proposed by Russia as inadmissible; and what displeased them still more was, the article relative to the independence of the Tartars in the Crimea. This they rejected as contrary to the principles of their religion, and as tending to establish a rivalry between the two Caliphs. They succeeded, however, in settling the nature of the religious dependence under which the Khans of the Crimea were to remain with regard to the Porte; but they could not possibly agree as to the surrender of the ports of Jenikaleh and Kerck; nor as to the unrestrained liberty of navigation in the Turkish seas, which the Russians demanded. After these conferences had been repeatedly broken off, hosti-

lities commenced anew (1773). The Russians twice attempted to establish themselves on the right bank of the Danube, but without being able to accomplish it. They lost, besides, a great number of men in the different actions which they fought with the Turks.

The last campaign, that of 1774, was at length decisive. Abdul Hammed, who had just succeeded his brother Mustapha III. on the throne of Constantinople, being eager to raise the glory of the Ottoman arms, made extraordinary preparations for this campaign. His troops, reckoned about 300,000 men, greatly surpassed the Russians in point of number; but they were not equal in point of discipline and military skill. About the end of June, Marshal Romanzow passed the Danube, without meeting any obstacle from the Ottoman army. That General took advantage of a mistake which the Grand Vizier had committed, in pitching his camp near Schumla at too great a distance from his detachments, and cut off his communication with these troops, and even with his military stores. A body of 28,000 Turks, who were bringing a convoy of four or five thousand waggons to the army, having been defeated by General Kamenski, and the waggons burnt, this event struck terror into the camp of the Grand Vizier, who, seeing his army on the point of disbanding, agreed to treat with Marshal Romanzow on such terms as that General thought fit to prescribe.

Peace was signed in the Russian camp at Kainargi, four leagues from Silistria. By that treaty, the Tartars of the Crimea, Boudziac, and Cuban, were declared entirely independent of the Porte to be governed henceforth by their own sovereign

Russia obtained for her merchant vessels free and unrestrained navigation in all the Turkish seas. She restored to the Turks Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia; as well as the islands in the Archipelago which were still in her possession. But she reserved the city and territory of Azoff, the two Kabartas, the fortresses of Jenikaleh and Kerch in the Crimea, and the Castle of Kinburn, at the mouth of the Dnieper, opposite Oczakoff, with the neck of land between the Bog and the Dnieper, on which the Empréss afterwards built a new city, called Chersom, to serve as an entrepôt for her commerce with the Levant. The foundation of this city was laid by General Hannibal (Oct. 19. 1778), on the western bank of the Dneiper, fifteen versts above the confluence of the Inguletz with that river.

The House of Austria also reaped advantages from that war, by the occupation of Bukowina, which she obtained from Russia, who had conquered it from the Turks. This part of Moldavia, comprehending the districts of Suczawa and Czernowitz, was claimed by the Court of Vienna as one of its ancient territories in Transylvania, which had been usurped by the princes of Moldavia. The Porte, who was indebted to Austria for the restitution of this latter province, had no alternative but to abandon the districts claimed by Austria. Prince Ghikas of Moldavia, having opposed the cession of these provinces, was put to death by order of the Porte; and Bukowina was confirmed to Austria by subsequent conventions (1776, and 1777), which at the same time regulated the limits between the two States. The peace of Kainargi, though glorious for Russia, proved most calamitous

for the Ottoman Porte. By establishing the independence of the Tartars, it lost the Turks one of their principal bulwarks against Russia; and they were indignant at seeing the Russians established on the Black Sea, and permitted unrestrained navigation in all the Turkish seas. Henceforth they had reason to tremble for the safety of their capital, which might be assailed with impunity, and its supplies intercepted, on the least disturbance that might arise between the two Empires.

The many disasters which the Turks had experienced in the war we have now mentioned, had a direct influence on the fate of Poland, which ended in the dismemberment of that kingdom. This event, which had been predicted by John Casimir in the seventeenth century, was brought about by the mediation of the Courts of Berlin and Vienna for the restoration of peace between Russia and Turkey. The conditions of that treaty, which were dictated by the Empress Catherine II., having displeased the Court of Vienna, which had moreover displayed hostile intentions against Russia, by despatching troops into Hungary, and taking possession of a part of Poland, which Austria claimed as anciently belonging to Hungary, the Empress took this occasion of observing to Prince Henry of Prussia, who then sojourned at her Court, that if Austria seemed inclined to dismember Poland, the other neighbouring powers were entitled to do the same. This overture was communicated by Prince Henry to his brother the King of Prussia, who resolved to act on this new idea. He foresaw it would be a proper means for indemnifying Russia, contenting Austria, and augmenting his own territories, by

establishing a communication between the kingdom of Prussia, and his duchy of Brandenburg. These considerations induced him to set on foot a negotiation with the courts of Vienna and St Petersburg. He gave the former to understand, that if war should break out between Austria and Russia, he could not but take part in it as the ally of the latter power; while he represented to the Empress of Russia, that if she would consent to restore Moldavia and Wallachia to the Turks, and indemnify herself by a part of Poland, she would avoid a new war, and facilitate an accommodation with the Porte. In this manner did he succeed, after a long and difficult negotiation, in recommending to the two Imperial courts, a project which was to give Europe the example of a kingdom dismembered on mere reasons of convenience. A preliminary agreement was drawn up, in which the equality of the respective portions of the three courts was assumed as the basis of the intended partition. A negotiation was afterwards entered into at St Petersburg, for regulating the portion to be given to the Court of Vienna; as the Empress and the King of Prussia, had already agreed about the divisions to which they thought they might lay claim.¹⁹

At length the formal conventions were signed at St Petersburg, between the ministers of the three Courts (Aug. 5. 1772). The boundaries of the territories and districts, which were to fall to the share of the three powers respectively, were there definitively settled and guaranteed to each other. They agreed to defer taking possession till the month of September following, and to act in concert for obtaining a final arrangement with the Republic of Poland. The Empress engaged by the

same treaty to surrender Moldavia and Wallachia to the Turks, in order to expedite the restoration of peace between her and the Porte. In terms of that agreement, the declarations and letters-patent of the three Courts, were presented at Warsaw, in September 1772; and on taking possession of the territories and districts which had been assigned them, they published memorials for establishing the legitimacy of their rights over the countries which they claimed. The King of Poland and his ministry, in vain claimed the assistance and protection of the powers that guaranteed the treaties. They had no other alternative left, than to condescend to every thing which the three courts demanded. A Diet which was summoned at Warsaw, appointed a delegation, taken from the Senate and the Equestrian order, to transact with the plenipotentiaries of the three powers, as to the arrangements of the different treaties by which the provinces already occupied were to be formally ceded to them on the part of the Republic. These arrangements were signed at Warsaw, September 18. 1773, and afterwards ratified by the Diet of Poland. To Austria was assigned, in terms of her treaty with the Republic, the thirteen towns in the county of Zips, which Sigismund, King of Hungary, had mortgaged to Poland in 1412; besides nearly the half of the Palatinate of Cracow, part of Sandomire, Red Russia, the greater part of Belz, Pecutia, and part of Podolia. The towns in the county of Zips were again incorporated with Hungary, from which they had been dismembered; and all the rest were erected into a particular State, under the name of the kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria. One very important advantage

in the Austrian division was, the rich salt mines in Wieliczka, and Bochnia, and Samber, which furnished salt to the greater part of Poland. ¹¹

Russia obtained for her share, Polish Livonia, the greater part of Witepsk and Polotsk, the whole Palatinate of Macislav, and the two extremities of the Palatinate of Minsk. ¹² These the Empress formed into two grand governments, those of Polotsk and Mochilew. The King of Prussia had the states of Great Poland, situated beyond the Netze, as well as the whole of Polish Prussia, except the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, which were reserved to Poland. ¹³ That republic, in virtue of a treaty with the King of Prussia, renounced also her demanial rights, and the reversion which the treaties of Welau and Bidgost had secured to her with regard to Electoral Prussia, as well as the districts of Lauchburg, Butow, and Draheim. The portion of the King of Prussia was so much the more important in a political point of view, as it united the kingdom of Prussia with his possessions in Germany; and, by giving him the command of the Vistula, it made him master of the commerce of Poland; especially of the corn-trade, so valuable to the rest of Europe.

The three courts, in thus dismembering Poland, renounced, in the most formal manner, all farther pretensions on the republic; and, lastly, to consummate their work, they passed an act at Warsaw, by which they sanctioned the *liberum veto*, and the unanimity in their decisions formerly used at the Diet in state matters; the crown was declared elective, and foreign princes were declared to be excluded. The prerogative of the King, already very limited, was circumscribed still more by the establishment of a permanent council; and

it was statuted, that no one could ever change this constitution, of which the three powers had become the guaranties.

[This partition of Poland must be regarded as the harbinger of the total overthrow of the political system which for three hundred years had prevailed in Europe. After so many alliances had been formed, and so many wars undertaken, to preserve the weaker states against the ambition of the greater, we here find three powers of the first rank combining to dismember a state which had never given them the slightest umbrage. The barriers between legitimate right and arbitrary power were thus overthrown, and henceforth the destiny of inferior states was no longer secure. The system of political equilibrium became the jest of innovators, and many well-disposed men began to regard it as a chimera. Though the chief blame of this transaction must fall on the courts of St Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna, those of London and Paris were accomplices to the crime, by allowing this spoliation to be consummated without any mark of their reprobation.]

In Sweden, the aristocratic system had prevailed since the changes which had been introduced into the form of government by the revolution of 1720. The chief power resided in the body of the Senate, and the royal authority was reduced to a mere shadow. The same factions, the Hats and the Bonnets, of which we have spoken above, continued to agitate and distract the state. The Hats were of opinion, that to raise the glory of Sweden, and to recover the provinces of Livonia and Finland, it was necessary to cultivate friendship

with France and the Porte, in order to secure their support in case of a rupture with Russia. The Bonnets, on the other hand, maintained that Sweden, exhausted by the preceding wars, ought to engage in no undertaking against Prussia. In preferring a system of pacification, they had no other object in view than to maintain peace and good understanding with all states, without distinction. These two factions, instigated by foreign gold, acquired a new importance when the war broke out between Russia and the Porte. It was in the Diet of 1769 that the Hats found means to get possession of the government, by depriving the members of the opposite party of their principal employments. There was some reason to believe that France, in consequence of her connexions with the Porte, had used every effort to stir up Sweden against Russia, and that the mission of Vergennes, who passed from Constantinople to Stockholm, had no other object than this. Russia had then to make every exertion to raise the credit and influence of the Bonnets, in order to maintain peace with Sweden. In these endeavours, she was assisted by the Court of London, who were not only willing to support the interests of Russia, but glad of the opportunity to thwart France in her political career.

The death of Adolphus Frederick, which happened in the meantime, opened up a new field for intrigue in the diet, which was summoned on account of the accession of his son and successor Gustavus III. (Feb. 12. 1771). This young prince at first interposed between the two parties, with a view to conciliate them; but with so little success, that it rather increased their animosity, until the Ben-

nets, who were supported by Russia and England, went so far as to resolve on the total expulsion of the Hats, not only from the senate, but from all other places and dignities in the kingdom. Licentiousness then became extreme; and circumscribed as the Royal power already was in the time of Adolphus Frederic, they demanded new restrictions to be imposed on his successor. The treaties that were projected with Russia and England, were evidently the result of the system adopted by that faction who had now seized the reins of government.

In this state of affairs, the young king saw the necessity of attempting some change in the system of administration. His gentleness and eloquence, and his affable and popular manners had gained him a number of partisans. He possessed in an eminent degree the art of dissimulation; and while he was making every arrangement for a revolution, and concerting measures in secret with the French ambassador, he seemed to have nothing so much at heart as to convince the world of his sincere attachment to the established constitution. It is alleged, that he had sent emissaries over the whole kingdom to stir up the people against their governors; and that he might have some pretext for calling out his troops, he induced Captain Hellicius, the commandant of Christianstadt in Blekingen, to raise the standard of revolt against the states who still continued their sittings at Stockholm.

That officer, known afterwards by the name of *Gustafscheld* or the *Shield of Gustavus*, published at first a kind of manifesto, in which he reproached the States for their misconduct; which he showed to have been diametrically opposite to the public interest and the laws of the kingdom. Prince Charles,

the King's brother, who was at that time at Landskrona in Schonen, being informed of the proceedings of the commandant of Christianstadt, immediately assembled the troops in the province, and marched to that place, with the intention, as is said, of stifling the revolt in its birth. The news of this insurrection spread consternation in the capital. The States were suspicious of the King, and took measures to prevent the ambitious designs which they supposed him to entertain. Hielichius, was proclaimed a rebel by the Senate, and guilty of high treason. They advised the King not to quit Stockholm, the command of which was intrusted to a senator, the Count of Kalling, with the most ample powers. At length the regiment of Upland, whose officers were devoted to the Senate, were ordered to the capital, with the intention, as is supposed, of arresting the King. That prince then saw that he had no longer time to delay, and that he must finish the execution of the plan which he had proposed.

On the morning of the 19th of August, the King presented himself to the troops who mounted guard at the palace; and having assembled the officers, he detailed to them the unfortunate state of the kingdom, as being the consequence of those dissensions which had distracted the Diet for more than fourteen months. He pointed out to them the necessity of abolishing that haughty aristocracy who had ruined the state, and to restore the constitution to what it was before the revolution of 1680; expressing at the same time his decided aversion for absolute and despotic power. Being assured of the fidelity of the guards, who were eager to take the oath of allegiance to him, he or-

dered a detachment to surround the Council Chamber where the Senators were assembled, and put the leaders of the ruling party under arrest. The artillery and other regiments of guards having also acknowledged his authority, their example was soon followed by all the *colleges* (or public offices), both civil and military. The arrest against Hellichius was revoked, and the regiment of Upland received orders to march back. These measures and some others were executed with so much skill and punctuality; that the public tranquillity was never disturbed; and by five o'clock in the evening of the same day, the revolution seemed to be accomplished without shedding a single drop of blood. Next day, the magistrates of the city took the oath to the King, and the assembly of the States was summoned to meet on the 21st. On that day the King caused the palace to be surrounded by troops, and cannons to be pointed into the court opposite the Chamber of the States. Seated on his throne, and surrounded by his guards, the King opened the assembly by an energetic discourse which he addressed to the members, in which he painted, in lively colours, the deplorable state of the kingdom, and the indispensable necessity of applying some prompt remedy. The new form of government which he had prepared was read by his orders, and adopted without opposition by the whole four orders of the kingdom. The King then drew a psalm-book from his pocket, and taking off his crown, began to sing *Te Deum*, in which he was joined by the whole assembly. Matters passed in the interior of the provinces with as little tumult and opposition as in the capital and principal cities. The King's bro-

there received, in his name, the oath of fidelity on the part of the inhabitants and the military.

In virtue of this new form of government, all the fundamental laws introduced since 1680 were cancelled and abolished. The succession to the throne was restricted to males only. The lineal order, and the right of primogeniture, as settled by the convention of 1743, and by the decree of the Diet of 1750, were confirmed. The King was to govern alone, according to the laws; and the Senate were to be considered as his councillors. All the senators were to be nominated by the King, and matters were no longer to be decided by a plurality of votes. The senators were simply to give their advice, and the decision belonged to the King. Courts of justice, however, were excepted. The chief command of all the forces in the kingdom, both by sea and land, and the supreme direction of the Exchequer, were conferred on the King. On the report of the senate, he filled up all the high offices in the state, both military, civil, and ecclesiastical. He alone had the right of pardoning, and of summoning the States, who could never assemble on their own authority, except in a case where the throne became vacant, by the total extinction of the royal family in the male line. The duration of the Diets was fixed for three months, and the King had the privilege of dissolving them at the end of that time. He could make no new laws, nor interpret the old ones, nor impose subsidies or assessments, nor declare war, without the advice and consent of the States. He was allowed, however, to levy an extraordinary tax, in cases where the kingdom might be attacked by sudden invasion; but on the ter-

mination of the war, the States were to be assembled, and the new tax discontinued. All negotiations for peace, truces, and alliances, whether offensive or defensive, were reserved to the King, by whom they were to be referred to the Senate. If, in these cases, the unanimous voice of the Senate was opposed to that of the King, it became his duty to acquiesce in their opinion. Every Swedish citizen was to be judged by his natural judge. The King could attain neither the life, honour, nor fortune of any citizen, otherwise than by the legal forms. All extraordinary commissions or tribunals were to be suppressed, as tending to establish tyranny and despotism.

The Revolution of Stockholm, of which we have just now spoken, had nothing in common with that which happened at Copenhagen the same year; and which, without in any way affecting the constitution of the kingdom, merely transferred the reins of government from the hands of the reigning Queen to those of the Queen-dowager.¹⁴

In a remote corner of Europe, there existed an association of warriors, of a kind quite peculiar, namely, that of the Zaporog Cossacs; so called because they dwelt near the cataracts of the Dnieper; where they served as a military frontier, first to the Poles, and afterwards to the Russians. The chief residence of these Cossacs was called Setscha. It contained a considerable mass of houses, scattered and badly constructed, and had a small fort occupied by a Russian garrison. The position of Setscha had not always been the same; but it was ultimately fixed on the western bank of the Borysthènes, opposite Kamenoi-Saton, an ancient fortress of the Russians, and was called New Setscha.

These Cossacs, known in Poland by the name of *Haydamacs*, and formidable by their incursions and their devastations, had adopted a republican form of government. Their capital was divided into thirty *Kurenes*, or quarters. Every Cossac belonged to one of these *Kurenes*. There he lodged when he stayed at *Setscha*, and was obliged to conform to its laws. All those who belonged to the same *Kurene*, formed as it were one and the same family. Like the ancient Spartans, they were nourished with the same food, and ate at the same table. The overseer of each separate *Kurene* was called *Ataman*, and the chief of all the *Kurenes* *Koschewoi-Ataman*. All the chiefs, without distinction, were elected by common consent; the *Ataman* by his own *Kurene*, and the *Koschewoi* by the whole *Kurenes* united. They were deposed whenever they became unpopular. The assemblies of *Setscha* were either ordinary or extraordinary. In that which was regularly held every year on the 1st of January, they made a formal division of the fields, rivers, and lakes, among the *Kurenes*. They made use of lots in order to avoid disputes; and they renewed them every year that a favourable chance might be given to all the *Kurenes* in succession. At that assembly they elected new chiefs, if they happened to be discontented with the old ones. As for the extraordinary assemblies, they were held when it was in agitation to undertake a campaign, or to make an excursion; and generally on all occasions when the common interest seemed to require it. They had a judge and some other officers in *Setscha*. The judge never pronounced sentence except in affairs of little importance. Those which appeared more weighty re-

quined the intervention of all the chiefs. They would suffer no woman to remain in Setscha. Those who were inclined to marry were obliged to remove elsewhere. To keep up their numbers the Zaporogs received deserters and fugitives from all nations. They were particularly careful to recruit their ranks with young boys, whom they kidnapped in their excursions; and brought them up according to their customs and manner of living.

The treaty of Andrussov between Russia and Poland had left these Cossacs under the common protection of those two States. They preferred that of Russia; and were continued under the dominion of that power by the peace of Moscow. Being afterwards implicated in the revolt of Mazeppa, they put themselves under the protection of the Tartars of the Crimea after the battle of Paltowa, and transferred their capital of Setscha to the eastern bank of the Dneiper, nearer its mouth. Being discontented under the Tartars, who repressed their incursions, and often imposed exactions on Setscha, they took the resolution of putting themselves once more under the dominion of Russia (1733). The Empress Anne confirmed them in their privileges, and furnished money to assist them in rebuilding their capital on the western bank of the Dneiper.

As they continued, however, to commit robbery and plunder on the frontiers without intermission, and having neither friends nor allies, Catherine II. resolved to annihilate this fantastic association. Besides their depredations, the Zaporogs were accused of having usurped possession of several countries between the Dneiper and the Bog; as well as of several districts which had at all times belonged

to the Cossacs of the Don. What more particularly exasperated the Empress against them, was, that being so obstinately attached to their absurd form of government, they opposed every scheme of reform the object of which was to make them live in regular society, and in the bonds of matrimony; or to induce them to form themselves into regiments, after the manner of the other Cossacs. They had also refused to send their deputies to Moscow, at the time when Catherine had sent for them from all parts of the Empire, for the formation of a new code of laws; and there was some reason to fear they might attempt to revolt, on account of the changes which the Empress proposed to make in the administration of the government. These and other considerations induced that princess to despatch a body of troops against Setochs (1775). The Zaporogs, attacked unawares, and inclosed on all hands, saw themselves without the means of making the least resistance. Their capital was destroyed, and their whole tribe dispersed. Those who were not inclined to embrace another kind of life, were sent back to their native towns and their respective countries.

The succession of Bavaria reverted of right to the Elector Palatine, Charles Theodore, as head of the elder branch of Wittelsbach. That prince had on his side, the Feudal Law of Germany, the Golden Bull, the peace of Westphalia, and family compacts frequently renewed between the two branches of that house; all Europe was persuaded that, should the case so turn out, the rights of the Elector Palatine would be beyond all controversy. Meantime, the Elector Maximilian had scarcely closed his eyes, when several pretenders appeared on the field, to

dispute the succession as his presumptive heirs. The Emperor Joseph IV. claimed all the fiefs of the Empire, which his predecessors had conferred on the house of Bavaria, without expressly including the princes of the Palatine branch in these investitures. The Empress, Maria Theresa, besides the fiefs of the Upper Palatinate holding of the crown of Bohemia, demanded all the countries and districts of Lower and Upper Bavaria, as well as of the Upper Palatinate, which had been possessed by the Princes of Bavaria-Straubingen, who had become extinct in 1425. She also alleged a pretended investiture, which the Emperor Sigismund had granted, in 1426, to his son-in-law Duke Albert of Austria. The Electress-Dowager of Saxony, sister to the last Elector of Bavaria, thought herself entitled to claim the allodial succession, which she made out to be very extensive. Lastly, the Dukes of Mecklenburg brought forward an ancient deed of reversion, which their ancestors had obtained from the Emperors, over the landgraviate of Leuchtenberg.

Before these different claims could be made known, the Austrian troops had entered Bavaria, immediately after the death of the late Elector, and taken possession of all the countries and districts claimed by the Emperor and the Empress-Queen. The Elector Palatine, intimidated by the Cabinet of Vienna, acknowledged the lawfulness of all the claims of that court, by a convention which was signed at Vienna (Jan. 3. 1778), but which the Duke of Deux-Ponts, his successor and heir presumptive, refused to ratify. That prince was supported in his opposition by the King of Prussia, who treated the pretensions of Austria as chi-

merical, and as being incompatible with the security of the constitution of the Germanic body. The King interposed in this affair, as being a guarantee for the peace of Westphalia, and a friend and ally of the parties concerned, who all claimed his protection. He demanded of the Court of Vienna, that they should withdraw their troops from Bavaria, and restore to the Elector the territories of which they had deprived him. A negotiation on this subject was opened between the two courts, and numerous controversial writings were published; but the proposals of the King of Prussia not proving agreeable to the court of Vienna, the conferences were broken off about the end of June 1778, and both parties began to make preparations for war.

It was about the beginning of July when the King of Prussia entered Bohemia, through the county of Glatz, and pitched his camp between Jaromitz and Konigratz, opposite that of the Emperor and Marshal Daun, from which he was only separated by the Elbe. Another army, composed of Prussians and Saxons, and commanded by Prince Henry of Prussia, penetrated into Bohemia through Lusatia; but they were stopped in their march by Marshal Laudohn, who had taken up a very advantageous position, and defeated all the measures of the Prince of Prussia. At length a third Prussian army marched into Austria and Silesia, and occupied the greater part of that province. Europe had never seen armies more numerous and better disciplined, and commanded by such experienced generals, approach each other so nearly without some memorable action taking place. The Emperor and his generals had the good sense to act on the defensive; while the efforts of the King

of Prussia, to bring him to a general engagement, proved altogether unavailing. This prince, who had lost a great many men by sickness and desertion, was compelled to evacuate Bohemia about the end of October, and his example was soon followed by his brother Prince Henry. At the beginning of this first campaign, the Empress-Queen being desirous of peace, had sent Baron Thugut to the King of Prussia, to offer him new proposals. A conference was agreed to take place at the convent of Braunau (Aug. 1778); which had no better success than the preceding, on account of the belligerous disposition of the Emperor, who was for continuing the war. At length the return of peace was brought about by the powerful intervention of the courts of Versailles and St Petersburg:

France, who was obliged, by the terms of her alliance with Austria, to furnish supplies for the Empress-Queen, could not in the present case reconcile this engagement with the interests of her crown, nor with the obligations which the treaty of Westphalia had imposed upon her, with respect to the Germanic body. Besides, the war which had broken out between her and England, on account of her alliance with the United States of America, made her anxious for the restoration of peace on the Continent, for avoiding every thing which might occasion a diversion of her maritime forces. The Empress of Russia, who thought her glory interested, could not remain a quiet spectator of a struggle which, if prolonged, might set all Europe in a flame. She declared to the Court of Vienna, that in consequence of the ties of friendship and alliance which subsisted between

her and the Court of Berlin, she would find herself called on to conjoin her troops to those of Prussia, if the war was to be continued. But, before coming to that extremity, she would interpose her good offices, conjointly with France, to bring existing differences to an amicable conclusion.

The mediation of these two courts having been accepted by the belligerent powers, a congress was summoned at Teschen, in Silesia, which was opened in the month of March 1779. The Empress of Russia, to give the greater weight to her interference, dispatched a body of troops to the frontiers, destined to act as auxiliaries under the King of Prussia, in case the war should happen to be renewed. Prince Repnin, who commanded that body, appeared, at the same time, in the capacity of ambassador extraordinary at the Congress. France sent, on her part, Baron de Breteuil, her ambassador at the Court of Vienna. All things being already prepared, and the principal difficulties removed, the peace was concluded in less than two months. By this treaty, the convention of the 8d of January, made between the Court of Vienna and the Elector Palatine, was annulled. Austria was required to give up all her possessions in Bavaria, except the places and districts situated between the Danube, the Inn, and the Salza, which were ceded to her as all she could claim of the succession of Bavaria, which she had renounced in the most formal manner. The fiefs of the Empire, which had been conferred on the House of Bavaria, were secured by that treaty to the Elector Palatine and his whole family; as well as those situated in the Upper Palatinate, and holding of the Crown of Bohemia.

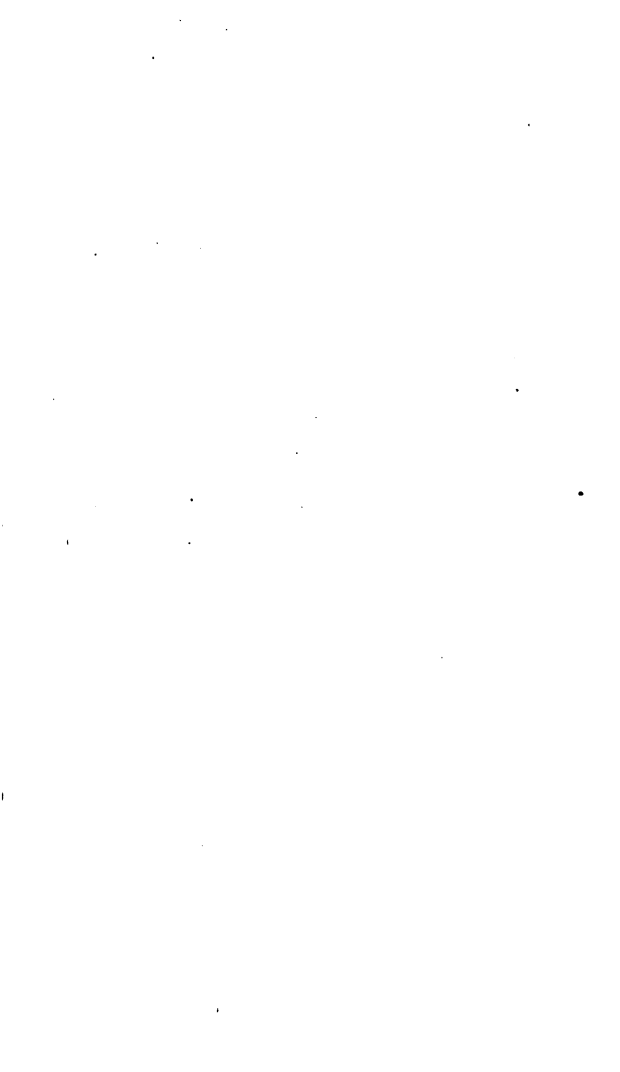
The Elector Palatine engaged to pay the Elector of Saxony, for his allodial rights, the sum of six millions of florins, money of the Empire; while the Empress-Queen gave up to the said prince the rights which the Crown of Bohemia had over certain seigniories lying within Saxony, and possessed by the Counts of Schonburg. The Palatine branch of Birkenfeldt, whose right of succession to the Palatine estates had been disputed, on the ground of their being the issue of an unequal marriage, were now declared capable of succeeding to all the estates and possessions of the House of Wittlesbach, as comprehended in the family compacts of that house.

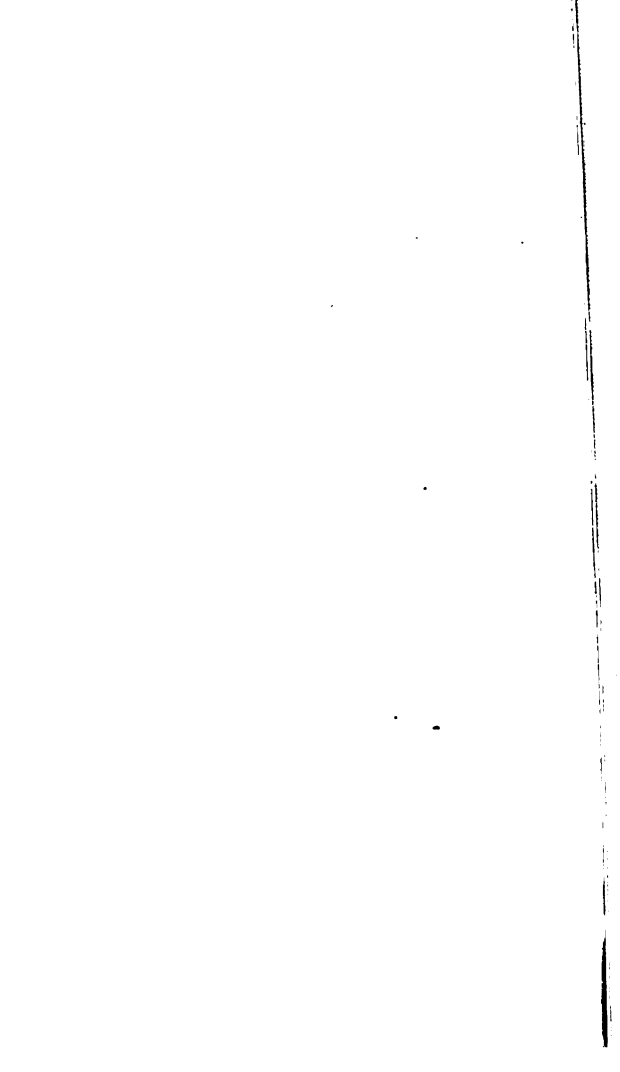
The existing treaties between the Court of Vienna and the King of Prussia, with those of Westphalia, Breslau, Berlin, and Dresden, were renewed and confirmed; and a formal acknowledgement made to the royal line of Prussia, of their right to unite the margraviates of Baireuth and Anspach, failing the present possessors, to the hereditary succession of the Electorate of Brandenburg; which right the House of Austria had called in question during the dispute which we have already mentioned. As for the House of Mecklenburg, they granted to it the privilege of the *non appellando*, in virtue of which, no one could carry an appeal from the tribunals of that country to the sovereign courts of the Empire. The two mediating powers undertook to guarantee this treaty. Thus the war for the succession of Bavaria was checked at its commencement. The following peculiarities are worthy of remark, viz. that the Palatine family, who were the party chiefly interested, took no share in it; while Bavaria, the sole cause of the war, was no way engaged in

it ; and the Elector Palatine, who had even refused the assistance of the King of Prussia, was, nevertheless, the party chiefly benefited by the peace, by means of the protection of that prince.

The House of Austria having failed, as we have just seen, in her project of conquering Bavaria, tried, in the next place, to get possession of that country by way of exchange for the Netherlands. The Elector Palatine appeared willing to meet the views of the Court of Vienna ; but it was not so with the Duke of Deux-Ponts, who haughtily opposed the exchange ; while the King of Prussia, who supported it, was obliged to acknowledge that such an exchange was inadmissible, and in opposition both to former treaties, and to the best interests of the Germanic body. The Court of Vienna then abandoned this project, at least in appearance ; but the alarm which it had caused throughout the Empire, gave rise to an association, known by the name of the Germanic Confederation. It was concluded at Berlin (July 23. 1785) between the three Electors of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Brunswick-Luneburg ; besides several provinces of the Imperial State who adhered to it. This association, purely defensive, had no other object than the preservation of the Germanic System, with the rights and possessions of all its members.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.







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